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NAME OF AUTHOR: NINA KOLESNIKOFF
TITLE OF THESIS: BRUNO JASIEŃSKI: HIS EVOLUTION FROM
 FUTURISM TO SOCIALIST REALISM

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PREPARED: Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1975

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BRUNO JASIEŃSKI: HIS EVOLUTION FROM
FUTURISM TO SOCIALIST REALISM

by

NINA KOLESNIKOFF

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1975

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled BRUNO JASIEŃSKI: HIS
EVOLUTION FROM FUTURISM TO SOCIALIST REALISM
submitted by NINA KOLESNIKOFF
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Comparative Literature.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the literary achievements of Bruno Jasieński (1901-1939), a bilingual writer, whose name in the history of Polish literature is firmly connected with Futurism, and in the history of Russian literature with Socialist Realism. He was one of the founders of the Futurist movement in Poland, and one of the first writers in the Soviet Union to translate the principles of the theory of Socialist Realism into a language of literature.

Jasieński's affiliation with Futurism determined the nature of his poetic experiments in But w butonierce (1921), Pieśń o głodzie (1922), and Ziemia na lewo (1924). Anti-aestheticism is an underlying principle of his poetry. Nature is degraded and depoetized by metaphors setting up vulgar associations. The elevated poetic diction is replaced by everyday language saturated with prosaisms, augmentatives, and colloquial syntax. The original and powerful free verses are based on asyntactic division and a new type of rhyme.

In the middle of the 1920's Jasieński abandons Futurism and searches for new forms of artistic expression that could adequately transmit his revolutionary ideas. He writes Słowo o Jakubie Szeli (1926), a poem sustained in the tradition of Polish folk songs, and Pale Paryż (1928), a

utopian novel proclaiming the inevitable end of the capitalist system and the coming of a new era.

From now on Jasieński subordinates his works to the task of political propaganda. His Chelovek meniâet kozhu (1932), "Muzhestvo" (1935), and Zagovor ravnodushnykh (1937) offer didactic illustration of definite ideological premises and of certain patterns of behaviour. The reader is confronted with standardized types of "positive" heroes clearly distinguished from "negative" characters, as well as with schematic optimism, i.e., readiness for optimistic solutions. The choice of the omniscient narrator enables Jasieński to present his own system of values and appreciations and to eliminate any ambiguity in favour of a clear evaluation of all the facts and characters. Each book offers a univocal answer to all questions raised by the author. All in all, Jasieński is in full conformity with the requirements of Socialist Realism, a method he adopted after his coming to the Soviet Union.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my appreciation for the help I received in the preparation of this thesis from Dr. Milan V. Dimić and Dr. Edward Możejko.

I also wish to thank the Canada Council and the University of Alberta for their financial support during the years 1971-1975.

Finally, my thanks to Irene Howard for editing the manuscript, and to Ruby Toren for typing it.

Nina Kolesnikoff

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INTRODUCTION

The name of Bruno Jasieński is firmly connected in the history of Polish literature with the Futurist movement, and in the history of Soviet literature with Socialist Realism. He was one of the founders of Futurism in Poland, and one of the first writers in the Soviet Union to translate the principles of the theory of Socialist Realism into a language of literature.

Wiktor Bruno Jasieński was born in 1901 in Klimontów near Sandomierz, son of Jakub Zysman,¹ a country doctor who for family reasons had changed his name to Jasieński. At an early age, Bruno left his native town, first to attend school in Warsaw, then between the years 1914 and 1918 to continue his education in a Polish High School in Moscow.

In 1918 Jasieński returned to Poland and began his studies in the faculty of philosophy at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Together with Stanisław Młodożeniec and Tytus Czyżewski he organized a Futurist club, "Katarynka,"² whose aim was to propagate the new poetry and to "futurize life" in old-fashioned Cracow. The Cracow group established a very close relationship with the Warsaw Futurists, Anatol Stern and Aleksander Wat, and together they toured the country³ and published flamboyant manifestoes.⁴

Jasieński was the soul of all Futurist activities. He organized and participated in most of their public appearances and was the author of many Futurist manifestoes as well as of a good deal of Futurist poetry. In 1921 Jasieński published his first book of poetry But w butonierce (A Boot in a Buttonhole). The next year saw the appearance of his poem Pieśń o głodzie (Song of Hunger), which was followed in 1923 by a novel Nogi Izoldy Morgan (The Legs of Izolda Morgan). In 1924 appeared Ziemia na lewo (Earth Leftwards), a collection of poetry by Jasieński and Anatol Stern. Ziemia na lewo was introduced by a preface in which the authors described themselves as "ex-futurists." A few months earlier Jasieński officially announced his break with Futurism in his article "Futuryzm polski (bilans)." ⁵

According to Jasieński's autobiography, the years 1924-1925 were for him years of inner crisis. ⁶ He refused to write in the old way, but at the same time could not find new forms of artistic expression. He spent these years in Lwów as literary editor of a communist newspaper, Trybuna Robotnicza.

In 1925 he went to Paris, where he spent the next four years of his life. In 1926 he wrote a poem, Słowo o Jakubie Szeli (Lay of Jakub Szela), and a novel, Pałę Paryż (I Burn Paris), which was published in French in the columns of L'Humanité (1928). The ideological connotations of Pałę

Paryż as well as Jasieński's active participation in the communist movement aroused the anxiety of the French government, which ordered the poet's deportation in 1929.

On May 19 of that year Jasieński arrived in Leningrad, where he was welcomed by a large crowd, including many reporters and writers. Jasieński settled down in Moscow, where he soon became involved in the artistic and political life of the capital. He joined the Polish section of the VOAPP (All Union Consolidation of the Associations of Proletarian Writers), which entrusted him with the job of editing Kultura Mas, a journal published in Polish and aiming at the creation of a Polish proletarian literature.⁷ In June 1930 he was elected to the Secretariat of the MAPP (Moscow Association of Proletarian Writers), and became one of the organizers of the International Congress of Revolutionary Writers, which took place in Kharkov in the fall of 1930. It was resolved at the Kharkov Congress to establish a periodical devoted to world proletarian literature, and Bruno Jasieński was chosen as its chief editor. The periodical was Literatura mirovoï revolutsii and was published in four languages—Russian, German, English and French.⁸

Jasieński's first work written in the Soviet Union was a play, Bal manekenov (The Ball of Mannequins), published in 1931 with an introduction by Anatolii Lunacharskiĭ. In 1932-33 his novel Chelovek meniaet kozhu (Man Changes His

Skin) appeared in Novyi mir, followed by a number of short stories: "Muzhestvo" (Bravery), "Nos" (The Nose), and "Glavnyi vinovnik" (The Chief Delinquent). All these works represented a new trend in Jasieński's writings; the ex-futurist adopted a new method—the method of Socialist Realism. In 1936 Jasieński began work on the novel Zagovor ravnodushnykh (A Conspiracy of the Indifferent). It was never finished.⁹ Jasieński was arrested in 1937, a victim, like many Soviet writers, of the Stalinist purges. He was exiled to Siberia and died in Vladivostok on December 16, 1939.¹⁰

His books were withdrawn from bookstores and libraries, his name was never mentioned in critical studies. Jasieński was doomed to obscurity for almost two decades. Then in 1955 the political climate in the Soviet Union changed. Jasieński with many others was posthumously rehabilitated. His works were republished and his name attracted the attention of critics and scholars.¹¹

The campaign for Jasieński's revival in Polish scholarship was initiated by Grzegorz Lasota and Anatol Stern,¹² and in the Soviet Union by Anna Berzin', the poet's second wife.¹³ Since then many valuable studies on Bruno Jasieński have appeared both in Poland and in the Soviet Union, but, as a rule, they tend to bisect his literary production according to the language in which the works were

written. The only exception is Anatol Stern's monograph, Bruno Jasieński, embracing the totality of Jasieński's works.¹⁴ The book makes very interesting reading, thanks to Stern's first-hand knowledge of Futurism, and his personal acquaintance with Jasieński. Unfortunately, the emphasis is on the biographical facts at the expense of analysis of the literary works. A completely different approach was chosen by Edward Balcerzan, author of the second Polish monograph on Bruno Jasieński. Styl i poetyka twórczości dwujęzycznej Brunona Jasieńskiego investigates Jasieński's poetics as a reflection of the poet's peculiar semiological attitude, where the Reality becomes the Transmitter and the role of the writer is to be a Contact between the Transmitter and the Receiver.¹⁵ There are also two interesting articles on Jasieński's poetry by Marian Rawiński. The first one, "U genezy wczesnej twórczości poetyckiej Brunona Jasieńskiego," discusses Jasieński's early poetry written under the impact of Igor Severiānin and Vladimir Maĭakovskiĭ; the second, "'Słowo o Jakubie Szeli' Brunona Jasieńskiego wobec folkloru," gives a perceptive analysis of Słowo and its ties with Polish folk poetry.¹⁶

If the Polish scholars restrict themselves to the investigation of Jasieński's poetic achievements, their Soviet colleagues concentrate on his prose, especially on the latest novels. B. I. Prutĭsev's dissertation, "Tvorcheskiĭ

put' Bruno Ęasenskogo," is very representative in this regard. Prutĉsev dismisses Jasieński's Futurist poetry as "formalist, anti-realistic, reflecting the disintegration of the bourgeois culture." He makes an exception, however, for Pieśń o głodzie, regarding it as a poem witnessing the "victory of the realistic tendencies." The core of Prutĉsev's dissertation is devoted to Jasieński's prose and to the degree to which the writer meets the requirements of the doctrine of Socialist Realism. Prutĉsev examines problems of "typicality," "positive hero," and "partisanship," as reflected in Jasieński's Russian novels, and concludes that the writer successfully adopted the method of Socialist Realism.¹⁷ The same conclusions were reached by N. G. Shafer and E. M. Khoroshukhin, authors of two more dissertations on Bruno Jasieński. Both "Romany Bruno Ęasenskogo" and "Khudozhestvennaĭa proza Bruno Ęasenskogo" deal exclusively with the ideology of Jasieński's prose and overlook its structural and stylistic peculiarities.¹⁸

There is a lack of a monographic study evaluating Jasieński's literary production as a whole. The task of this dissertation is to fill this gap by assessing Jasieński's contribution to both the Polish and the Russian literatures and by giving a critical appreciation of his literary evolution. The study is based primarily on Jasieński's literary works, with the major emphasis on those revealing

the impact of Futurism on his poetry and of Socialist Realism on his prose. Jasioński had begun his literary career as a Futurist, and this determined the nature of his poetic experiments in But w butonierce, Ziemia na lewo and Pieśń o głodzie. His literary career in the Soviet Union coincided with the origin of the theory of Socialist Realism, which left a strong impact on the structure of his Russian novels Chelovek meniaet kozhu and Zagovor ravnodushnykh.

But in order to do full justice to Jasioński's achievements, his works will also be confronted with the conventions of the period. Postwar Polish poetry as well as the Futurist trends in Italy and Russia will provide a background for an analysis of his poetry. His Russian novels will be compared with the most representative "industrial" novels of such Soviet writers as Fedor Gladkov, Leonid Leonov, Valentin Kataev, Il'ia Erenburg, and others.

CHAPTER I

POLISH FUTURISM: ITS ORIGIN AND THE AESTHETIC PROGRAMME

In the development of twentieth century Polish literature the years 1917-1923 are marked by the origin of numerous poetic schools, each of which grouped a number of poets, who, despite their differences, united in order to promote new tasks in literature. Each of the schools formulated its own programme, often opposite and antagonistic to one another.

In the opinion of Ryszard Matuszewski and Seweryn Pollak, the authors of a survey of Polish poetry in the years 1914-1939, from the perspective of forty years the differences between the groups do not seem as great as they seemed to their contemporaries, and the borderlines between them become fluid:

Otóż kiedy na dorobek tych ugrupowań spogląda się z perspektywy lat czterdziestu, żadne z nich nie wydaje się wolne od powiązań z przeszłością. Co więcej, żadne z nich, przynajmniej w momencie startu nie wydaje się tak bardzo od siebie różne, jak wydawało się współczesnym. Granice okazują się płynne i elementy odrębnych poetyk współistnieją w twórczości tych, którzy zapoczątkowują poszczególne nurty.¹

Matuszewski's remarks are undoubtedly true in regard to the poetic practice of individual poets initiating different poetic schools, but as far as the official programmes are concerned, the disparities are much greater than the similarities.

One of the first poetic schools to establish itself in postwar Poland was the Poznań Expressionist group which in 1917 founded its own literary review, bearing the name Zdrój.² The editor was Jerzy Hulewicz, and the chief contributors were his brother Witold, Adam Bederski, Jan Stur, Józef Wittlin and Emil Zegadłowicz. Their programme was best formulated in their manifesto "Czego chcemy," written by Jan Stur. The true essence of reality, emphasized Stur, lies in the metaphysical experiences of the soul, not in the outer forms perceptible by our senses. The task of the arts is to penetrate into the phenomena of the inner sensations "to give the most faithful and the most direct pronouncement of the bare soul." In order to express all the sensations, both conscious and subconscious, the artist has the right of deformation, illogicality and formal novelty. But the form of a work of art is not an autonomous value and has to be subordinated to the content it carries. Content in the arts is what matters, not form.

Some of the expressionist assumptions were adopted by "Czartak," a group organized in 1922 by Emil Zegadłowicz and including Edward Kozikowski, Janina Brzostowska and Tadeusz Szantoch.³ But Czartak, with its explicitly anti-urban programme, laid the principal stress on the cult of Nature. The city was regarded as a symbol of evil: "a monstrous swarm of the worst instincts." The only salvation for

mankind was a return to Nature which would bring back "belief, hope and love." In short, Czartak's vision embodied the familiar utopia of the idyllic life close to Nature, and determined its attitude towards folklore, regarded as a true source of artistic inspiration.

If primacy of content over form was the battle cry of Expressionism, exactly the opposite view was expressed by the Formists.⁴ The only great value of poetry, argued Leon Chwistek, a theoretician of that group, lies in its perfect form, and the task of the poet is to modify the content in such a way that the form is predominant. The logician changes the form in order to reach the invariable content, while the poet changes the content to achieve the perfect form. This is due to the differences of the language function in science and poetry: science aims at the sentence with the clearest meaning; poetry aspires to ambiguity of meaning which allows the foregrounding of its formal features. Chwistek's programmatic article "Formizm" was published in the second issue of Formiści, a periodical edited by Chwistek himself and Tytus Czyżewski, the most representative Formist poet until he joined the Futurist movement.

In January 1920 another literary periodical made its appearance. It was Skamander,⁵ official organ of the Skamander group, whose leading poets were Julian Tuwim, Antoni Słonimski, Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński and Jarosław

Iwaszkiewicz. The first issue of Skamander opened with an introductory article by Wiliam Horzyca, stressing the policy of the group to have no definite programme. But in the next sentence Horzyca spoke of Skamander's attachment to the present and of their desire to extol comtemporary life in all its manifestations. Recognizing the importance of poetic form, the "Skamandrites" promised to be honest poetic craftsmen, accomplishing their work exceptionally well. The idea of the poet as craftsman did not exclude the notion of inspiration; the article emphasized Skamander's belief in "the sanctity of good rhyme, the divine origin of rhythm, the revelation of images, born in ecstasy and chiseled by work." The above mentioned article was the only theoretical statement made by the Skamander poets; the group was otherwise devoid of doctrine.

Unlike Skamander, the Cracow group "Awangarda" from the beginning lent great weight to theoretical considerations. The elaboration of an aesthetics was for Awangarda as important as poetic practice. The chief theoretician of the group was Tadeusz Peiper, who in 1922 founded the periodical Zwrotnica,⁶ thus uniting a number of talented poets: Julian Przyboś, Jan Brzękowski, Adam Ważyk and Jalu Kurek. Peiper's basic assumption was that the change in modern life, transforming as it does both the physical conditions and the psychology of modern man, must also influence the development

of the arts.⁷ "Embrace the present" was his slogan, suggesting the need to introduce new themes: "the city, the crowd, the machine and their derivatives—speed, inventiveness, novelty." But "embrace the present" also demanded the transformation of the forms of artistic expression. Peiper explored the problems of the new poetics, elaborating a whole system of principles dealing with the function of rhyme, rhythm, metaphor and poetic composition. In "Metafora teraźniejszości" he justified the hegemony of metaphor as one of the most efficient means of transforming existing reality into poetic reality with a minimum of verbal material. In "Rytm nowoczesny" he argued against traditional metric systems in favour of free verse based on the natural rhythm of a sentence and distinguished by the use of rhyme. In Nowe usta he advocated the principle of "blossoming composition," in which an initial part presents a condensed expression of all motifs to be developed in the following parts. Each consecutive part would contain a fuller representation of the basic motif, enriched by new elements and shown in a more detailed way. Peiper's poetic theory, embracing a settled and closed system of norms, was distinguished by an inner coherence and consistency which placed Awangarda among the most interesting schools of the twentieth century Polish literature.⁸

The same could not be said about the Futurist

programme, which was often contradictory and vague. One of the reasons for the meagreness of Futurist theoretical output and its lightweight quality was the lack of a theoretician of the stature of Tadeusz Peiper or Leon Chwistek. Neither Anatol Stern nor Bruno Jasieński, authors of the Futurist manifestoes, nor Kordian Gacki, editor of Almanach Nowej Sztuki, had the intellectual capacity to evolve a coherent aesthetic theory. Stern and Jasieński were simply poets who wrote the manifestoes to stress the need for a new poetry. Their manifestoes were intended to baffle the audience rather than to clarify issues. Kordian Gacki was an acute interpreter of Futurist poetry, but he failed to elaborate a system of concepts which would function as a universal Futurist aesthetics.⁹

It is characteristic that Polish Futurists have never established their own literary periodical. For a while it seemed that Nowa Sztuka might have become their official organ, but it ceased to exist after the publication of two issues.¹⁰ When Almanach Nowej Sztuki was founded in 1924, it was already too late. The process of the disintegration of Futurism was well advanced and there was no way to stop it. Lack of a periodical was certainly a drawback to the effective dissemination of Futurist ideas, but Futurists solved that problem by publishing so-called "jednodniówki," occasional publications containing Futurist manifestoes as

well as a selection of their poetry.¹¹ The first Futurist "jednodniówka" appeared in Warsaw in December 1920, and was entitled Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach futurystyczny (Honk: The First Polish Futurist Almanac). Its authors, Anatol Stern and Aleksander Wat, opened the publication with a manifesto "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski" (The Primitivists to the People of the World and Poland). Its general tone was noisy and aggressive, its aim to outrage public opinion as much as possible. It began with a denunciation of all tradition: civilization should be dumped into a junkpile and all tradition should be renounced:

CYWILIZACJA, KULTURA, Z ICH CHOROBLIWOŚCIĄ —
 NA ŚMIETNIK.
 PRZEKREŚLAMY HISTORIĘ I POTOMNOŚĆ.
 także rzym tołstoja, krytykę kapelusze indie
 bawarię i kraków.¹²

Laughter and nonsense were pronounced the essential elements of life: "nonsense is splendid, while logic marks the constraint and cowardliness of the intellect." The essence of art, according to the authors of the manifesto, lay in primitiveness and laughter. Art had to go on the streets and be a part of live circus performances for huge crowds of people:

c h w a l i m y r o z u m d l a t e g o t e ż
 o d r z u c a m y l o g i c z n o ś ć , t o
 o g r a n i c z e n i e i t c h ó r z o s t w o
 u m y ś ł u . n o n s e n s j e s t w s p a -
 n i a ł y p r z e z s w ą t r e ś ć n i e -
 p r z e t ł u m a c z a l n ą , k t ó r a u w y -
 p u k l a n a s z ą t w ó r c z ą s z e r o -
 k o ś ć i s i ł ę .

.

sztuką jest to tylko, co daje zdrowie i śmiech.
 ISTOTA SZTUKI—W JEJ CHARAKTERZE CYRKOWEGO WIDOWISKA
 DLA WIELKICH TŁUMÓW.

As for poetry, it should dispense with grammatical forms, spelling and punctuation, while preserving rhyme and rhythm. The manifesto called for a new approach toward the word, understood as phonetic material deprived of its meaning:

znaczenie słowa jest rzeczą podrzędną i nie zależy
 od przypisywanego mu pojęcia należy je traktować
 jako materiał dźwiękowy UŻYTY NIEONOMATOPEICZNIE.

On the whole, the programme introduced in "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski" had more in common with Dada than with Futurism, espousing as it did an anarchistic negation of all values and apotheosizing nonsense and laughter. "Dada means nothing," wrote Tristan Tzara in "Le Manifeste Dada 1918":

Tout produit du dégoût susceptible de devenir une négation de la famille, est dada; proteste aux poings de tout son être en action destructive: dada; connaissance de tous les moyens rejétés jusqu'à présent par le sexe pudique du compromis commode et de la politesse: dada; abolition de la logique, danse des impuissants de la création: dada; de toute hiérarchie et équation sociale installée pour les valeurs par nos valets: DADA; . . . Liberté: DADA DADA DADA, hurlement des couleurs crispées, entrelacement des contraires et de toutes les contradictions, des grotesques, des inconséquences: LA VIE.¹³

In their rejection of all values, all assumptions, all beliefs, the Dadaists also rejected the arts. The creative process was regarded as a joke characterized by spontaneity and lack of deeper meaning.

Nevertheless, there was a basic difference between

the Polish Primitivists and the Dadaists, who were in principle against all programmes. The Polish Primitivists regarded the whole world as a huge playground where the artists came together with crowds of people to create art. "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski" wanted to abolish the barrier dividing the artists from the audience and to engage the masses in the reception as well as in the creation of art. In contrast, Dada's emphasis was on the artist, liberated and irrepressible in his fantasy, aloof from the rest of the people. Dadaists stressed their separation from the public which they regarded as ignorant and hostile. The task of the new art was to amaze and to shock the public rather than to establish contact with it.

The slogan of art for the masses was expressed not only in "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski," but also in a manifesto "Do narodu polskiego: Manifest w sprawie natychmiastowej futuryzacji życia" (To the People of Poland: A Manifesto Concerning the Immediate Futurization of Life), written by Bruno Jasieński and published in Jednodniówka futurystów [sic] (Cracow: 1921). Jasieński rejected the idea of pure art, art for art's sake, and advocated "human art," i.e., art that is democratic and common, and belongs to the masses. In order to reach the masses, the artists have to go into the streets and organize concerts and exhibitions at the factories and cafeterias, on the trams and in

the railway stations, in the parks and on the balconies.

The crowd has to become engaged not only as the audience but also as an active participant:

Zrywamy raz na zawsze z fikcjami tzw. "czystej sztuki", "sztuki dla sztuki", "sztuki dla absolutu". Sztuka musi być jedynie i przede wszystkim ludzką, tj. dla ludzi, masową, demokratyczną i powszechną.

· · · · ·
K a ż d y · m o ż e · b y ć · a r t y s t ą ·

Teatry, cyrki, przedstawienia na ulicach, grane przez samą publiczność. Wzywamy wszystkich poetów, malarzy, rzeźbiarzy, architektów, muzyków, aktorów, aby wyszli na ulicę.

This new mass art was supposed to replace the art of the past, which had outlived itself and had to be dismissed.

Jasieński urged that the classics, symbolized by the names of Mickiewicz and Słowacki, be discarded:

Będziemy zwozić taczkami z placów, skwerów i ulic nieświeże mumie mickiewiczów i słowackich. Czas opróżnić postumenty, oczyścić place, przygotować miejsca tym, którzy idą.

Paying homage to Romantic poetry for its national character, Jasieński promised to disparage their epigones, presumably the poets of Młoda Polska, described in the manifesto as the "phantoms of Romanticism."

The revolt against literary tradition was combined with a revolt against all inherited values—old habits, categories and fetishes:

Ogłaszamy za St. Brzozowskim wielką wyprzedaż starych rupieci. Sprzedaje się za pół darmo stare tradycje, kategorie, przyzwyczajenia, malowanki i fetysze.

Contrary to "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski,"

Jasieński's manifesto approved of modern civilization.

Technology with its economy, purposefulness and dynamics was regarded as an art itself. The telegraphic apparatus seemed to Jasieński a thousand times greater as a work of art than Byron's Don Juan:

T e c h n i k a j e s t t a k s a m o
s z t u k ą j a k m a l a r s t w o , r z e ź b a
i a r c h i t e k t u r a .

Dobra maszyna jest wzorem i szczytem dzieła sztuki
przez doskonałe połączenie ekonomiczności, celowości
i dynamiki.

This admiration for the precision and purposefulness of the mechanized world was, however, contradicted by his praise of illogicality and nonsense. The manifesto called for liberation from logic and the rule of nonsense and humour:

My, futuryści, chcemy wskazać wam furtkę z tego
getta logiczności. Człowiek przestał się cieszyć,
ponieważ przestał się spodziewać.

POTOP CUDOWNOŚCI I NIESPODZIANEK. NONSENSY
TAŃCZĄCE PO ULICACH.

Surprisingly, Jasieński completely disregarded purely aesthetic questions in "Do narodu polskiego." His neglect was intentional, for he was to apply these general assumptions to the arts in his next manifesto.

"Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej" (A Manifesto Concerning Futurist Poetry) was Jasieński's ambitious attempt to provide the Futurist movement in Poland with some aesthetic foundations. First of all, Jasieński insisted on the autonomy of art, which was regarded as a self-contained

process that did not bear any casual relation to life or psychology. Art, wrote Jasieński, is not a reflection and an anatomy of a soul (psychology), nor a manifestation of our aspiration toward the other world (religion), nor an analysis of the eternal problems (philosophy).

Every work of art, emphasized Jasieński, is determined by its inner dynamics and each component has its value precisely in terms of its relations to every other component and to the totality:

Dzieło sztuki uważamy za rzecz dokonaną, konkretną i fizyczną. Kształt jego uwarunkowany jest ściśle wewnętrzną potrzebą. Jako takie odpowiada ono za siebie całym kompleksem sił go składających, zawdzięczając którym tak a nie inaczej—tj. z wewnętrznym przymusem skoordynowane są jego poszczególne części w stosunku do siebie i do całości.

Without using the term "structure," Jasieński came very close to the structural approach, viewing the work of art as a complex, multi-dimensional structure, integrated by the unity of aesthetic purpose. Jan Mukařovsky, for instance, gave such a definition of structure.

The mutual relationships of the components of the work of poetry, both foregrounded and unforegrounded, constitute its structure, a dynamic structure including both convergence and divergence and one that constitutes an undissociable artistic whole, since each of its components has its value precisely in terms of its relation to the totality.¹⁴

Foregrounding meant to Mukařovsky the act of relegating the communicative function to the background and the expressive to the centre. Foregrounding in poetry, according to

Mukařovsky, is carried against two norms, that of the standard language, and that of the traditional aesthetic canon.

Similar insistence on novelty as the necessary quality of art characterized "Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej." Jasieński was convinced that the core of artistic value lay in divergence from the prevailing tradition:

Nie wolno w r. 1921 nikomu tworzyć i konstruować tak, jak to czyniło się już kiedyś przed nim. . . . Twórcę każdego obowiązuje to wszystko, co zastał + ten cudowny nowy skok, który artysta każdy uczynić musi w próżnię wszechświata.

He was merciless even in regard to Futurist art; the achievements of Italian Futurism were for him outdated. Consequently Polish poets, starting in 1921, did not intend to repeat what was done in 1908.

Distinguishing poetry from the other arts, Jasieński drew an analogy between its use of words on the one hand and the use of shapes in plastic art and of sounds in music on the other. Poetry, stressed Jasieński, is a verbal art, since a word is its basic material. Both aspects of the word, the phonetic and the semantic, are equally important to poetry:

Słowo jest materiałem złożonym. Oprócz treści dźwiękowej ma jeszcze inną treść, symboliczną, którą reprezentuje, a której nie trzeba zabijać pod groźbą stworzenia trzeciej sztuki, która nie jest już poezją, a nie jest jeszcze muzyką (dadaizm).

As for Futurist poetry, it should reject syntax and grammar,

but preserve a perfect composition; in other words allow a "maximum of dynamics with a minimum of material." Jasieński called for the destruction of the sentence, regarded as incidental composition joined by the weak glue of petit-bourgeois logic. It should be replaced by the condensed and consequent juxtapositions of words, not restrained by any rules of syntax, logic, or grammar:

PRZEKREŚLAMY ZDANIE JAKO ANTYPOEZYZJNY DZIWOŁĄG.

Zdanie jest kompozycją przypadkową, spojona jedynie słabym klejem drobnomieszczańskiej logiki. Na jego miejsce—skondensowane, ostre i konsekwentne kompozycje słów, nie krępowanych żadnymi prawidłami składni, logiki czy gramatyczności.

As to the subject matter of the new poetry, it should reflect the changes taking place in society, and speak of the city, the crowd, and the machine:

P o c h w a l a m y ż y c i e , k t ó r e
j e s t w i e c z n y m m o z o l n y m
z m i e n i a n i e m s i ę , r u c h ,
m o t ł o c h , k a n a l i z a c j ę i
M i a s t o .

Jasieński wrote two more manifestoes. The first, "Manifest w sprawie krytyki artystycznej" (A Manifesto Concerning Artistic Criticism), called on all authors to become critics of their own writings, while the second, "Mañifest w sprawie ortografji fonetycznej" (A Manifesto Concerning Phonetic Spelling), proposed orthographic reform to make spelling simple and phonetic.

Although far from being a coherent aesthetic theory,

Jasieński's manifestoes provided Polish Futurism with a constructive programme. But despite the insistence on total originality, the programme launched in Jednodniówka futurystów was in many ways similar to those of both Italian and Russian Futurism. The antagonistic and uncompromising anti-traditionalism, the cult of civilization, the search for new forms of artistic expression--all these elements of Jasieński's manifestoes were to be found in those of the Italian and Russian Futurists. It will be instructive to examine these earlier manifestoes and note the striking similarities, which far outweigh the points of difference.

The initial manifesto of Italian Futurism, "Fondazione e manifesto del Futurismo," written by Filippo Marinetti in 1909, repudiated all authorities and all established standards, social, ethical and aesthetic, directing its strongest attack toward the cultural and literary tradition:

È dall'Italia, che noi lanciamo pel mondo questo nostro manifesto di violenza travolgente e incendiaria, col quale fondiamo oggi il Futurismo, perché vogliamo liberare questo paese dalla sua fetida cancrena di professori, d'archeologi, di ciceroni e d'antiquarii.¹⁵

Similarly, the first Russian manifesto, published in 1912 and bearing the characteristic title, "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste," declared the past "too narrow" and the Russian

Academy and Pushkin "more incomprehensible than hieroglyphics." And if Jasieński considered Mickiewicz too narrow-minded and Słowacki incomprehensible, this Russian manifesto was for "throwing Pushkin, Dostoevskii, Tolstoi and others from the steamer of modern times":

Прошлое тесно. Академия и Пушкин непонятнее
 гиероглифов. Бросить Пушкина, Достоевского, Тол-
 стого, и проч. и проч. с Парохода современности.¹⁶

In addition to proclaiming a complete break with the "stifling past," Marinetti announced the cult of modern civilization and technology:

Noi canteremo le grandi folle agitate dal lavoro,
 dal piacere o dalla sommossa: canteremo le maree
 multicolori e polifoniche delle rivoluzioni nelle
 capitali moderne; canteremo il vibrante fervore
 notturno degli arsenali e dei cantieri incendiati
 da violente lune elettriche; . . .¹⁷

Marinetti continued in this vein in "Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista" in which he advocated a "lyric obsession with matter." The new poetry was to discover the activity of matter, and to sing of the instincts and sensitivity of ores, stones and wood. But the only way to grasp the essence of matter was to rely on intuition, not on intellect or logic:

Le intuizioni profonde della vita congiunte l'una
 all'altra, parola per parola, secondo il loro nascere
 illogico, ci daranno le linee generali di una psico-
 logia intuitiva della materia.¹⁸

The manifesto glorified illogicality and disorder:

Siccome ogni specie di ordine è fatalmente un
 prodotto dell'intelligenza cauta e guardinga bisogna

orchestrare le immagini disponendole secondo un maximum di disordine.¹⁹

Here we encounter the identical contradictions that were present in Jasieński's manifestoes—the cult of technology as opposed to the cult of intuition; the fascination with both modern civilization and with the earlier times when primitive instincts supposedly held sway; the admiration for the precision and accuracy of the mechanical world along with the appeal for illogicality and nonsense.²⁰

But it became obvious to Marinetti, as it was to Jasieński, that a change in subject matter and a reliance on intuition could not carry Futurist poetry very far, and that the revolution would have to be directed into the field of poetics as well. Thus his "Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista" called for the abolition of traditional syntax, elimination of punctuation and the repudiation of metrics. Adjectives must be discarded since they drag and introduce unnecessary nuances. Verbs must be used in the infinitive only for a faster speed. And nouns must be juxtaposed freely with one another to show the analogies between different phenomena. Punctuation, a corollary of syntax, must be abolished and partly replaced by mathematical and musical notations. And rigid metric schemes must be repudiated in favour of free compositions of words, to which Marinetti gave the term "parole in libertà."

An identical concern for the innovation of poetic

form was expressed by the Russian Cubo-Futurists who firmly believed that genuine novelty does not depend on content but on form. Their second manifesto, opening the second volume of Sadok sudei (A Trap for Judges), formulated a detailed constructive programme of "new principles of creation."²¹ Chief among these were: disregard of syntax and of all grammatical rules, rejection of orthography and punctuation, recognition of the role of prefixes and suffixes, enrichment of the poetic vocabulary, abolition of traditional rhythms, and finally, and least important, the introduction of new themes. The Russian Futurists elaborated the theory of the "word as such," understood as a self-sufficient entity, not as a means to convey ideas and emotions. The word had been too long in chains by being subordinated to meaning, argued Alekseĭ Kruchënykh in "Novye puti slova," and the task of Futurism is to free it from this traditional subserviency to meaning:

Ясное и решительное доказательство тому, что до сих пор слово было в кандалах является его подчиненность смыслу. До сих пор мы утверждали „Мысль диктует законы слову, а не наоборот“. Мы указали на эту ошибку и дали свободный язык, заумный и вселенский.²²

The word is broader than meaning, he insisted, and urged the creation of a trans-rational poetry or "zaum'," formed exclusively on the basis of sound with a total disregard for meaning:

Мысль и речь не успевают за переживаниями вдох-

новенного, поэтому художник волен выражаться не только общим языком (понятия), но и личным (творец индивидуален), и языком, не имеющим определенного значения (не застывшим), заумным. Общий язык связывает, свободный позволяет выразиться полнее. 23

A similar postulate to free the poetic word from meaning was forwarded in "Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach futurystyczny," which also advocated the abolition of grammatical forms, spelling and punctuation. The latter requirement was also repeated by Jasieński in his "Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej." Like their foreign counterparts, Polish Futurists were convinced that the elaboration of a new poetics was one of the most important tasks of Futurism. But in comparison with the detailed programmes of Russian and Italian Futurism, the Polish programme was quite vague and insufficient. 24

So far in our comparison of the theoretical pronouncements of Polish, Italian and Russian Futurism, we have concentrated on the aesthetic programmes. But the Futurist movement sprang out of a certain interpretation of extra-artistic reality. The Futurists regarded art not as an independent value, but as a means to change the complex of contemporary life. Depending on the conditions where the movement developed, as well as on the ideology it served, each Futurist school determined the function of art in a different way.

In the case of Italian Futurism, the emphasis was on violence and militarism. Violence, cruelty and injustice were pronounced the necessary ingredients of art—"no masterpiece without aggressiveness":

Noi vogliamo cantare l'amor del pericolo,
l'abitudine all'energia e alla temerità.

Il coraggio, l'audacia, la ribellione, saranno
elementi essenziali della nostra poesia.²⁵

War was considered the only "health giver of the world"; hence the slogan to extol militarism, patriotism and the destructive arm of the Anarchist:

Noi vogliamo glorificare la guerra—sola igiene del mondo—il militarismo, il patriottismo, il gesto distruttore dei libertari, le belle idee per cui si muore e il disprezzo della donna.²⁶

Marinetti's militarism and nationalistic discipline were completely foreign to Russian Futurists, who had begun as spokesmen of anarchist freedom, but progressed towards revolution. When the October Revolution took place, Futurist poets declared themselves on its side and proclaimed their art "the left front in arts" and themselves "the drummers of the revolution."²⁷ "Na ulitsu futuristy, barabanshchiki i poëty!" exclaimed Vladimir Maïakovskiï in "Prikaz po armii iskusstva," and this slogan of the artists going to the streets suggested the necessity to bring art closer to the people.

Bruno Jasieński, who insisted that art must be "mass, democratic and common," had much in common with Maïakovskiï,

though the Pole emphasized the entertainment value of art rather than its educational function, so important for the Russian. Jasieński's lack of concern for a definite social programme was characteristic of the Polish Futurists, who, by comparison with their Russian and Italian counterparts, were the least determined and the most abstract in their enunciation of desirable social changes.

Some of the contemporary Polish critics, however, considered Futurism a manifestation of "bolshevism," a "purposefully destructive work laying the foundation for the revolution." After the publication of Nuż w bżuhu [sic], Wierzbński wrote in the newspaper, Rzeczpospolita:

"Nuż w bżuhu". Głoski te widniały niedawno na murach Warszawy, krzyczały do przechodniów z wyżyn ogromnej płachty papierowej, zadrukowanej płodami „futurystów”, czyli tak zwanych przez siebie „poetów”, płodami cuchnących wyziewów Nalewek i Bolszewii. Nie są to wolne i niewinne żarty, nie są objawy procederu sui generis literatów, uprawianego dla zarobku—lecz celowa planowa a chytra robota rozkładowa . . .²⁸

Futurism also brought strong criticism on itself from the respectable literary critics. Karol Irzykowski wrote an article "Plagiatowy charakter przełomów literackich w Polsce," accusing Futurism of unoriginality and plagiarism. A multitude of artistic movements, in his opinion, appeared in Poland unexpectedly and without the justification of their own development. The reliance on foreign models secured for them from the beginning a level of maturity that would have

otherwise required a long period of development on native ground:

A to, co się dziś u nas wyroiło ze wszystkich stron jak chrząszcz na wiosnę, czuć było z daleka plagiatem. Stwory te przychodziły zbyt niespodziewanie, bez uzasadnienia i bez rozwojowej potrzeby—znajdowały się od razu na pewnym stopniu wyrafinowania, jakiego się nie da osiągnąć bez dłuższych prób i poszukiwań . . . Ludzie, którzy sami z siebie nie byliby wpadli ani na dadaizm, ani na futurizm, nie mają prawa do naśladownictwa i powinni być raczej tylko tłumaczami i wiernymi pośrednikami nowości zagranicznych.²⁹

Stefan Żeromski, a famous Polish writer, also criticized Futurism for copying foreign ideological and artistic attitudes, instead of taking up great social issues:

"Nowina", która jakoby "wali już kolbami mauzerów" do wszystkich okien i drzwi—jest to snobistyczna nowinka, literacka formułka, przeniesiona z książek polskich wraz z całym aparatem niezbędnych akcesoriów najczyściej cudzoziemskich, jest to więc literacki "kierunek" odczytany już, ograny, porzucony przez tameczny snobizm i zwalczony przez kierunki nowe. . .³⁰

The charges of unoriginality, as we have seen, were to a great extent justified. The aesthetic programme of the Polish Futurists in many ways coincided with the programmes of the Italian and Russian movements. The Polish poets were not, however, merely copying the flamboyant Futurist slogans automatically, but attempting rather to evolve a relevant aesthetic theory. They did not succeed in evolving a full-blown aesthetics but they did formulate a number of propositions that were later used by their successors, especially by the Cracow Awangarda.

But the formulation of a new aesthetics was only one of the merits of Futurism. Its most important contribution to the development of Polish literature was the elaboration of new forms of poetic expression. It is difficult to agree with the opinion of Helena Zaworska that the poetic practice of Futurist poets was less interesting than their theoretical programmes.³¹

To prove that it was otherwise will be the task of the next chapters, which investigate the Futurist quest for a new poetic language. The emphasis will be on the poetic experiments of Bruno Jasieński, who utilized all possible means to renovate the poetic language—euphony, neology, colloquial vocabulary and syntax, as well as new rhythms and metaphors.

CHAPTER II

THE POETRY OF BRUNO JASIEŃSKI AND THE FUTURIST QUEST TO RENOVATE POETIC LANGUAGE

When in 1923 Bruno Jasieński wrote his "balance" of Polish Futurism, "Futuryzm polski (bilans)," he boasted that the Futurist movement in Poland originated as early as 1914 with the publication of the poems of Jerzy Jankowski, a "tragic forerunner and the John the Baptist of Polish Futurism":

Jeszcze niezadługo przed wojną, w roku 1914,
tragiczny zwiastun i Jan Chrzciciel futuryzmu
polskiego, Jerzy Jankowski (autor „Tramu w popszek
ulicy”), straszył publiczność polską wierszami
rozrzuconymi po czasopismach — pierwszy polski
futurysta w znaczeniu włoskim.¹

Jerzy Jankowski's first Futurist poems were, indeed, published in 1914,² but the true development of Futurist poetry took place in the years 1919-1921. The year 1919 saw the publication of Jerzy Jankowski's Tram wpopszek ulicy [sic] (A Tram across the Street) and of Anatol Stern's Futuryzje (Futureses [sic]), followed by Tytus Czyżewski's Zielone oko: Poezje formistyczne, elektryczne wizje (A Green Eye: Formist Poetry, Electric Visions). In 1921 several books of individual authors were prepared for publication, among them Bruno Jasieński's But w butonierce (A Boot in a Buttonhole), Stanisław Młodożeniec's Kreski i futureski (Strokes and Futuresques [sic]), Anatol Stern's and Aleksander Wat's

Nieśmiertelny tom futuryz (The Immortal Book of Futureses).

Despite obvious dissimilarities due to the individuality of each poet, all the above-mentioned books shared some characteristics stemming from adherence to the Futurist programme,³ which presupposed renovation of poetic language as a prime goal of the new poetry. Renovation of poetic language was reflected on all levels of their poetry. On the level of sound it meant a rich "orchestration," with a particular interest in consonant instrumentation. On the lexical level it presupposed an orientation towards neology as well as prosaisms and vulgarisms. In regard to syntax it led to the maximal condensation of a sentence, based on frequent use of ellipsis. Finally, it included experiments with new rhythms and rhymes, as well as with new types of metaphors.⁴

EUPHONY

"Orchestration," or the manipulation of the sound quality,⁵ has always been regarded as an integral part of the poetic process, but Futurism attached to it a special importance. The Italian Futurists were fascinated with expressive sounds, understood as a direct imitation of physical sounds (direct onomatopoeia), or as the expression of subjective responses to external conditions (indirect onomatopoeia).⁶ The Russian Futurists focused their

attention on sound patterns, playing with the repetition of identical or associated sound qualities. Consonant instrumentation became their favourite poetic device.⁷

For the Polish Futurists "orchestration" meant the use of both imitative sounds and sound patterns. Contrary to their theoretical statement, Polish poets remained faithful to the device of onomatopoeia. Czyżewski's poetry is a treasury of onomatopoeia imitating the sounds of birds and animals. Stanisław Młodożeniec's onomatopoeic formations were not restricted to individual words; in some cases they comprised whole stanzas or even poems. In "Moskwa" (Moscow) the ringing of church bells reverberates throughout the poem. The cumulative effect of the words "tu" and "tam" is to transmit the sound of bells. But at the same time it expresses the poet's longing for Moscow—he is simultaneously "here" and "there" (these are the original meanings of "tu" and "tam"):

tu-m czy-m ta-m?	
tam-tam TAM —	
	TU-M — —
tam-tam TAM tam-tam-tam TAM	
	TU-M TU-M
czy-m tam-tam? tam-tam? czy-m tam?	
	TAM-M? TU-M?
czyli-m tam? — jeżeli-m tam to i tu-m	
	TUM-TUM
a i tam a i tum — — —	
oj-ja JJAJ tam a i tu-m —	
	to-m i tam i tum
	TUM ⁸

Like their Russian colleagues, Polish Futurists were

extremely fond of consonant instrumentation. Their poetry abounds with consonant alliteration, based on the repetition either of a single consonant or of a group of sounds. Anatol Stern's "Nimfy" (Nymphs), for instance, introduces alliteration b, p, m, n:

wabio balwieża baby oblane ponsem
i muwio my się boim czy nuż nas nie potnie
a na to balwież szczerzący plomby złotne
ja gołę baby tylko swym blondynnym wąsem⁹

The function of alliteration in Stern and Młodożeniec did not go beyond sound ornamentation. Bruno Jasieński carried alliteration one step further and developed "semantic alliteration," in which the euphonic effects were strengthened by semantic associations between phonetically similar words.¹⁰ He was not concerned with sound as a means of pure ornamentation; the sound patterns were of interest to him only if they suggested new, unexpected possibilities of semantic associations. To be sure, there are examples of phonetic experiments in Jasieński's poetry that do not get beyond mere sound repetitions, but they are relatively rare. One has to search for verses like: "nosze stały szeregiem nieruchome, nakryte/noga przy nodze." More often the function of consonant alliteration is to create an onomatopoeic effect. The accumulation of the sibilant consonants and the repetition of krz in the poem "Morse" transmits the harsh noises of the city: "słyszysz słów rożnogwarych nieustanny szum,/szyk skrzyżowanych krzywo krzyków — kling i

klangor." The repetition of the word "dzwon" (bell), which carries an onomatopoeic effect in itself, creates the impression of ringing bells in "dzwony dzwoniły i w dzwonach ich krzyk nikt."¹¹ It should be noted that onomatopoeia was very seldom used by Jasieński; he was faithful to his declaration of breaking away from onomatopoeia, understood as the actual imitation of physical sounds:

Zrywamy raz na zawsze z wszelkim opisywaniem (malarstwo), ale z drugiej strony z wszelkim onomatopeizowaniem, naśladowaniem głosów przyrody itp. niesmacznymi rekwizytami pseudo-futurującego neorealizmu.¹²

The distinguishing feature of Jasieński's euphonic devices is the emphasis on the interrelation between sound and meaning. One such device is paronomasia, a play on words with similar sounds but different meanings. In "Marsylianka" (Marseillaise), for example, Jasieński introduces a metaphor "gdzie przepływ w portach liże barki barek," where "barki barek" means "barges' barks." And again, in the opening lines of "Do futurystów" (To the Futurists) the paronomastic effect is created by juxtaposing two similar names, Platon and Plotyn, and by introducing a pun on the name of Charlie Chaplin:

Już nas znudzili Platon i Plotyn,
i Charlie Chaplin, i czary czapel -
rytmicznym szczękiem wszystkich gilotyn
piszę ten apel.

The pun is based on the phonetic similarity between the

Polish words and the foreign name, exactly the same as in:

Poezjo! Utrzymanko eleganckich panów!
 Anemiczni, nerwowi, bladzi masturbanci!
 Precz! Chcę dziś sławić czarnych, ordynarnych chamów,
 co nie potrafią France'a odróżnić od francy!

The title of Jasieński's first book But w butonierce is a play on words; "butonierka" (buttonhole) starts with exactly the same sequence of sounds as in "but" (boot), which might suggest the semantic affinity between them. Despite phonetic similarity there is no semantic relationship between them.

Another device often used by Jasieński in order to show the contrast between sound and meaning is the juxtaposition of words that brings out the potential ambiguity of identical word components:

kłOSy na włOSy bOSO na rOSy
 z brUZDy na brUZDy jAZDy bez UZDy
 słońce uLEwa zaLEwa na LEwo
 na LEwo na LEwo na LEwo prOSTo
 OSTy na mOSTy krOST wodorOSTy
 tuPOTy koPYT z łoPOTem oPADł
 oPADł i łoPOT i łoPOT i POT.

The words are grouped here on the basis of their phonetic affinity; they share a certain sequence of sounds, while on the semantic level there exists a diversity of meanings. This phenomenon might also be described as "false etymology" since the similarity of the phonetic structure of the words creates the impression of their etymological affinity.

Jasieński's "false etymology" is often combined with a tendency to impose the meaning of one word on another and to create a metaphor. In "Na rzece" (On a River) the word

"dola" (fate) gains a new value in relation to "dolina" (valley), and "czoło" (forehead) in relation to "czułem" (I felt):

na fale fal len na leny lin
nieczułem czołem czułem
od doli dolin do Lido lin
zanosło wiosła mułem.

And again, in "Psalm powojenny" (A Post-War Psalm) the meaning of the word "żelazny" (iron) is imposed on the word "żaluzje" (shutters): "spuszczają z ciężkim hukiem żelazne żaluzje."

Jasieński's concern for the semantic values of phonetic devices brings him close to the poets of the Cracow Awangarda, who were real masters in the semantic interpretation of sound similarity. Compare these examples from Julian Przyboś: "Z jaką łąką swoją wolę łączyć," or "dzień na polach nie przestawał rzępolić."¹³

Jasieński's fascination with "false etymology" is probably most apparent in his compound rhymes where the homophony of the words is contrasted with the semantic difference: "zza grud/zagród," "przednim/przed nim," "nastu/nas tu." As a result, a single multisyllable word like "przednim" looks like a composite of two words, "przed" and "nim." The poem Słowo o Jakubie Szeli is overloaded with such rhymes: "grzyw dym/krzywdy," "kop z kim/chłopskim," "żyw da/krzywda," "uznasz/wóz nasz," "fabryk/bab ryk."

Rhymes, in general, provide us with the most

interesting material illustrating Jasieński's attempts to renovate the poetic language. Besides the traditional perfect rhymes, there are innumerable examples of approximate rhyme, of assonance and consonance. Jasieński's first collection of verses, But w butonierce, is dominated by perfect rhyme: "bemole/stole," "jesiennność/kamienność," "niedbała/umiała." Jasieński tries to avoid grammatical rhymes; they are the easiest to find, since their sound identity results from the use of the same inflectional endings. In "Marsz" (March) the rhyme "pobiegły/cegły" contains a verbal form confronting a noun, while in "biała/przelicytowała" an adjective is juxtaposed to a verb; in "kantem/chryzantem" the two nouns differ in case and number. Agrammatical rhyme confirms the thesis of the necessary presence of two elements in rhymes, similarity and dissimilarity:

Rhyme introduces the expectation of repetition, e.g., the maximal type of similarity, and at the same time, the expectation of surprise, i.e., of dissimilarity.¹⁴

Similarity results from phonetic recurrence, while dissimilarity might occur on the grammatical level, as seen in the variety of grammatical suffixes in the above examples, or on the lexical level. In Jasieński's poem "Pogrzeb Reni" (Renia's Funeral) rhymes sanctified by tradition, such as "księżyc," "łabędzie," "fiołki" are juxtaposed with very prosaic words like "przeżyć," "obłędzie," "stołki." A similar

semantic relationship characterizes rhymes in "Do futurystów" in which "rokoko" and "poetyczności" from the lexicon of art are contrasted with the medical term "gonokok" and with a harsh neologism "wkrości."

Even rhymes based on tautology reveal subtle semantic differences. In the poem "Marsz" the word "krew" (blood) appears four times in a rhyming position, and each time the meaning of it varies, depending on the context:

Co?... Co?... Leży... Krew...
 Łapia... Kapia. Liście. Z drzew.

 Krzyk. Popłoch. Włosy. Drża.
 Krew... W krwi... Pachnie. Krwią...

 Tu, I tu. I na rękach, Krew.
 Bydło! Dranie! Ścierwy! Psia krew!

In the first verse "krew" is a metonymy; it describes the blood-stained body, not just the blood. The tautological rhyme "krew/krew" juxtaposes the word "krew" with an idiomatic phrase "psia krew," a common swearword in Polish, where it has lost its proper sense.

Perfect rhyme, however, did not satisfy Jasieński, who was searching for new forms, and he turned his attention to assonance and consonance. Assonance as used by Jasieński is based on the alternation of the inner consonants: "roz-pędzie/gałęzie," "gorączce/pieniądze," or on the alternation of the final consonants: "żabim/Skriabin," "listach/pisał," "ostrzych/ostryg." In the former instance, the alternation is usually between voiced and voiceless consonants:

"koncercie/rzędzie," "udrą/jutro." In the case of the final consonant assonance, the juxtaposed sounds are often the sonants m, n, r, l: "rožen/morzem," "gumien/umiem," "migał/dźwigar," "biegał/zegar," "wiater/światem," "stolikiem/likier."

In most examples of consonance the alternation occurs between the unstressed vowels, as in: "przeleżć/czeluść," "zlepek/epok," "kobiet/obiad," but there are also instances of consonance with the change of the stressed vowels: "pstrej/ryj," "odpuścić/nieprawości," "francuscy/bliscy." The most common is the change between the vowels a and e: "dzisiaj/lisie," "czekam/mlekiem," "pożarł/nożem," "kotlet/pobladł."

Jasieński's innovations in the field of rhyme are particularly noticeable when compared to the rhyming technique of his contemporaries. The majority of the Skamander poets followed the rhyming tradition of Młoda Polska, which demanded a complete identity of all sounds, starting from the stressed syllable. It is true that there were attempts to abolish this rule. One recalls the use of assonance by Tuwim, or the juxtaposition of feminine rhymes with masculine in Iwaszkiewicz, but such deviations were not widespread.¹⁵

Surprisingly, many Futurist poets were also attached to traditional rhyme. Jankowski utilized perfect rhymes in most of his poems published in Tram wpopszek ulicy; the same

was true for Czyżewski's book Noc — dzień. More innovative were the rhyme schemes in Stern and Młodożeniec. Młodożeniec's "Pieśń o morzu" (A Song of the Sea), for instance, is based exclusively on the use of assonance and consonance: "wrót/nurt," "słów/słup," "huk/ślub," and "otworzył/morza," "upałom/cało," "bałwanów/rumiana." In Stern's poetry most of the examples of assonance have the alternation between the inner consonants: "upalny/palmy," "gwiazdy/plastry," "ptaki/flagi"; his consonances repeat the consonants and change the vowels: "dudniało/ciała," "cieleża/święty," "świecie/świcie," "sny/śni."

The culmination of Jasieński's experiments in the phonetic stratum are his two poems "Wiosenno" and "Na rzece," in which the sound becomes a dominating element in the poetic structure. An elaborate sound pattern occurs in "Na rzece":

o tra¹fy tarów żyrafy raf
ren cerę chore o ręce
na stawie ta wie na pawie staw
o trące tren terence.

The alliteration raf in the first verse is reinforced by the repetition of the sounds t and y. The second verse is dominated by fourfold repetition of the sequence re, as well as an anagram "cerę/ręce." It also has a peculiar phonetic framework, the verse beginning and ending with the same sequence of sounds rence. In the third verse each consecutive sequence repeats the sounds from the word "stawie," and the whole verse alternates the vowels a and e. Finally, the

last verse introduces the alliteration tren, thus reinforcing the alliteration pattern of the initial verses. The sound pattern of this stanza is achieved with the help of the existing vocabulary, but it is only the sound-expressiveness of the words that is important, not their meaning. On the semantic level, there is no meaningful relation between words; even if we regard "żyrafy raf" as a metaphor, the juxtaposition of the words "trafy tarów" and "ren cerę" is completely nonsensical. The same process takes place in the remaining verses of "Na rzece," in which the paranomastic pattern overshadows the meaning. We could, however, speak about an allusion to meaning in the poem as a whole, which results from an accumulation of semantically related words evoking a certain image. The poem might be read as a description of the movement of water stirred by an oar, because of the recurrence of words from the same semantic field: "pluski," "wiosłobryzgi," "fale," "wiosła," all referring to a river. Such an interpretation is also suggested by the title of the poem, "On a River" as well as by its beginning, "na rzece rzec ce na cerze mrze." This allusion to meaning does not contradict the supremacy of the phonetic stratum in "Na rzece"; euphony is an underlying principle of the poetic structure and therefore the poem could be described as "zaum'." Jasieński never went as far as Russian "zaumniki," who postulated the creation of a

trans-rational language formed exclusively on the basis of sound with a total disregard for meaning. Kruchënykh's poems consisted of arbitrary combinations of sound, divorced from meaning:

Зок зок зок
 ю ю юк
 пм пм
 др др рд рд
 у у у
 кн кн лк м
 ба! ба! ба!¹⁶

His famous "dyr bul shchyl," composed of analogical meaningless sound sequences, was supposed to express the Russian soul much better than all Pushkin's poetry.¹⁷

The only Polish Futurist who practised this extreme version of trans-rational poetry was Aleksander Wat. His "Namopaniki," a name he gave to his trans-rational poems, were based on the phonetic aspect of the word with a disregard for semantics or logic. The dominating structural device of his "Namopanik Barwistanu," for instance, is alliteration, introduced in the title itself. The sounds barw are repeated in the poem endlessly either in a sequence of four or as a repetition of individual sounds:

baarwy w arwah arabistanu wrabacają wracabają
 poowracają racają na baranah w ranah jak na narah
 araba han. abraam w myrrah z bramraju wybieera nab
 bogawę narrawę byh nad boogawotami boogo watami
 trombowali barwiotacze oracze barwiotucze obrucze
 barwotęcze obręcze . . .¹⁸

The poem consists almost entirely of neologisms, diversified in their structure and semantic connotations. First of all,

there are neologisms formed as arbitrary combinations of sounds deprived of any meaning: "arwah," "narah," "byh," "wikroby." A great number of words are derivatives from common roots, but vague in meaning: "barwiotacze," "pyszana-wah," "bogawę." Finally, existing words are transformed into neologisms by a slight difference in spelling: "barana-h," "baarwy," "poowracaja," "wybieera." Despite the clear meaning of these words, as well as the obvious semantic value of a few standard words, such as "araba," "obręcze," "czary," the poem as a whole is obscure. Its meaning is overshadowed by a phonetic pattern which dominates the poetic structure. One interesting aspect of this phonetically-dominated composition of words is its similarity to the sounds of a foreign language. The accumulation of the consonants r and h, the repetition of vowels, as well as the introduction of some exotic words, such as "myrrah," "han," "arabistan," create the impression that the poet is actually rendering the Arabic language.

This technique of rendering foreign languages by means of trans-rational poetry was a widespread tendency among the Russian Cubo-Futurists. Kruchënykh and Kamenskiĭ imitated the sounds of Turkish languages in "Khosmochaĭ" and "Konstantinopol'"; Khlebnikov attempted to restore the proto-slavic language.

In Polish poetry similar attempts were made by Julian

Tuwim, whose Słopiewnie successfully imitated the melody of foreign languages. His "Ballada starofrancuska" depicts sounds of French, "O mowie rosyjskiej" conveys the softness and melodious harmony of Russian, "Wanda" seems to restore old Slavic forms.¹⁹ Tuwim's "Słopiewnie" bears witness to the impact of the Futurist theory of word autonomy on modern poetry; a non-Futurist poet like Tuwim became fascinated with the phonetic aspect of the word and produced "zaum'" poetry based on euphonic effects.

LEXICON AND SYNTAX

"Orchestration," that is, manipulation of sound qualities, was one of the means used by Futurists to renovate poetic language. Equally important in this regard was a tendency to renovate the poetic lexicon, which presupposed the use of neology as well as opening the door to colloquialisms and augmentatives.

Neology was considered a very effective means to "disautomatize" language²⁰ and it was postulated by Russian Futurists in their first manifesto, "Poshchëchina obshchestvennomu vkusu":

Мы приказываем чтить права поэтов на увеличение словаря в его объеме произвольными и производными словами (слово — новшество).²¹

Russian Futurists were unsurpassed masters of neology. Maiakovskiĭ introduced more than two thousand neologisms,

"serdeczniejąc," "podserdecznia." A similar process takes place in neologisms like "umojony," "odmojony," "siebiepewny," where the pronoun forms are transformed into adjectives. The tension between two components occurs in the compounds "księgodajca," "mojobytnia," "nogoszybcę," where the existing word is combined with a neologism; as a result the compound itself acquires a touch of novelty:

uchodzone umyslenia upapierzam poemace
i miesieczę kaszkietując księgodajcom by zdruczili
skieszeniłem
księgosłalnia kolejując porozwszechnia wzdaleczenia
niewieściatko z długowłosa żrenicuje umojone
strofowania²⁵

Młodożeniec' neologisms, as a rule, preserve a clear meaning, thanks to the presence of the semantically univocal roots, as well as to the subordination of the neologisms to the morphological and syntactic rules of Polish.

In contrast with predominantly word-derivation neology practised by Polish Futurists, Jasieński's neologisms are based on compound formations; compounds constitute three-quarters of his neologisms. The majority of newly-coined nouns are compounds that unite two nouns or an adjective with a noun with the aid of the linking vowel -o-: "tango-szal," "oknoramy," "parkocień" or "cichopłacz," "cicholas," "złotogłówka," "złotozamki." Compounds also predominate among the adjectival neologisms, as in "miękkostopi," "smagłośliska," "nizkodacha." The word "egzokwintny" belongs to the same group; despite the shortened forms of both its

components, it is not difficult to read it as a compositum of two adjectives, "egzotyczny" and "wykwintny." The non-compound neologisms "kolny" and "rozłśniewny" utilize the adjectival suffix -n-, as in "śpiwny," or "szkolny."

More diversified is the structure of the verbal neologisms; most of them are denominal verbs that transform a noun into a verb with the help of the suffix -owieć, sometimes together with the affix za-: "kołowieć," "zmysłowieć," "fiołkowieć," and "zalistowieć," "zaechowieć." This slightly different verbal suffix (the typical one is -ować as in "żartować," "pracować") brings in some freshness and originality. This is especially noticeable in a form such as "zakołowieć," where the suffix -owieć changes the verb "zakołować" into a neologism. The productive verbal suffixes are utilized in the neologism "wkrościć się": w- as in "wleźć" and -ić as in "pościć." Verbs "oszaleć" and "rechotać" are changed into the reflexive: "niech się Pani oszali" and "aż rechoce się serce." Two neologisms "poezowia" and "poezawia" seem to underline the difference between the perfect and imperfect verbs. The foreign name of a dance (two-step) is given verbal affixes -ić and za- to make it sound like a Polish word "zatwostepić"; note that two- is pronounced here as in "twoja," not as in English "two."

From the point of view of their stylistic function, the majority of Jasieński's neologisms have a concrete,

non-metaphorical meaning. The words "tangoszal," "parkocień" or "oknorama" refer to very concrete objects, the additional feature of the object being included in the second component: "tangoszal" is a shawl that is being worn to dance the tango, "parkocień" is shade in a park. The original neologisms "ofutrzony" and "zakrepiony" function as epithets describing the objects: "ofutrzony szofer" is a driver wearing a fur coat, while "zakrepione ulice" suggests that the streets are creped.

Some of the neologisms, however, are used in a metaphorical sense, mostly in the case of verbs; "zatwostepią latarnie" suggests that the street lamps are going to dance, while "słońce w niebo się wkrości" transmits an image of the sun, which will "pimple" into the sky. The original neologism "przeraz" is a metaphor representing horror. The expression "tak mojo," formed by contrast to the idiom "nieswojo," very successfully depicts the poet's feeling of happiness.

On the whole, Jasieński's innumerable neologisms are conventional, formed in agreement with the rules of Polish grammar. Jasieński did not invent any new morphemes or disobey the rules of phonology. Owing to the prevalence of compounds, which are widespread in modern Polish, his neologisms lack the touch of novelty and originality.²⁶

Far more striking in their novelty were prosaisms and

augmentatives, used abundantly by Jasieński. The first attempts to lower poetic language were made by the Skamander poets, who gave it a strong infusion of prosaisms and colloquialisms. The "democratization" of poetic discourse was continued by the Futurists, who in fact replaced the elevated poetic diction by everyday language.

Jasieński's contribution in this field was immense. He utilized all the resources of the standard language—lexicon, phraseology, syntax, intonation—and in this way elevated the everyday language to the heights of poetic discourse. The impact of colloquial language on his poetry was probably strongest on the lexical level. The unpoetic, common vocabulary, including such words as "karetka," "nosze," "piwnica," co-exist with such colloquial expressions as "puścić się," "rechotać," "zrobić burdę," "zezować na księżyc," as well as with vulgarisms like "szlagon," "cięci," "żreć." In some of his poems the most repulsive epithets are accumulated in order to describe the repugnant inhuman life of the city lumpenproletariat:

O ekstatyczny tłumie żarty przez syfilis!
Zaropiałe, cuchnące, owrzodzone bydło!
Kiedy w czarnym pochodzie nade mną się schylisz?
Wszystko mnie już zmęczyło i wszystko obrzydło!

This stanza comes from "Zmęczył mnie język" (My Tongue Tired Me Out), the poem which in many ways coincides with Julian Tuwim's "Wiosna" (Spring). Both poets present the city as governed by sexual impulses. In "Zmęczył mnie język" the

crowd "throngs like a huge snake, impregnating the big-bellied, fat-breasted bitches" (Tłum czarny przewala jak olbrzymi wąż/zapładniając brzuchate, tłustopierśne samki). In "Wiosna" the spring turns people into animals and their animal-like behaviour is indicated by the terms "samiec" (a male animal) and "samica" (a female animal): "I poczną sobą samców częstować samice":

Wiosna!! Hajda! — pęczniejcie! Trujcie się ze sromu!
Do szpitalów gromadnie, tłuszczo rozwyrzona!
Do kloak swe bastrzeta ciskaj po kryjomu,
I znowu na ulicę, w jej chwytnie ramiona!!!²⁷

Hundreds of bastards will be born, writes Jasieński, and the fate of these children is predicted by Tuwim: "throw your bastards to the sewer." Venereal disease spreads, turning the city into a "monstrous pimple," full of "festering, stinking, ulcerous people." Significantly, both poets use the most augmentative language to describe the crowd, which in Jasieński is "black and coarse boors" (Chcę dziś sławić czarnych, ordynarnych chamów!), and in Tuwim: "ragtag and bobtail" (pstrokata hołota), "rampant rabble" (tłuszcza rozwyrzona).

Common phraseology, idiomatic expressions, stock sayings and proverbs were other sources of Jasieński's poetic discourse. The description of a cold and miserable night in "Miasto" (City) is founded on two common sayings, "deszcz leje jak z cebra" (it is raining cats and dogs) and "psa wygonić szkoda" (one would not even chase a dog out):

Noc zimna.
 Zła.
 Przejmująca. Czarniawa. Chłodnista.
 Nie widać ani źdźbła,
 Deszcz leje, jak z cebra,
 Na rogu policjant-statysta

 Bębni po ceracie woda.
 Raz... raz... pach-pach-pach... raz...
 Woda...
 Eh, czas!!
 Psa wygonić szkoda!

Other proverbial constructions function as lapidary comments on events: "też diabeł dał to" expresses a feeling of dissatisfaction, while "W imię Ojca i Syna" underscores a moment of fear.

But Jasieński was not content with merely using unchanged phraseological expressions. He also reinterpreted them, and in so doing reactivated them and gave them new life. The expression "pójść do nieba" (to go to heaven) acquires humorous subtleties by specifying the exact direction: "prosto Marszałkowską pójdziemy do nieba." A common saying "łzy na rzęsach" (tears on one's eyelashes) is comically transformed into "łzy na wąsach" (tears on one's moustache). More sophisticated are Jasieński's attempts to bring a new meaning to an idiom, or to restore the original meaning to an idiomatic expression. The literal meaning is restored to the idiomatic expression "zapierać dech" (to take away one's breath) by linking it with the action of the wind: "wiatr zapierał w piersiach dech." The same process occurs with the metaphor "gruzy szczerzą zęby ślepych okien,"

based on the literal meaning of the phrase "szczyrzyć zęby" (to show teeth), not on its idiomatic connotation "to laugh." And in the metaphor "już myśli jak kobiety wala się z nóg" an abstract concept is animated—the thoughts "fall off their feet."

The influence of colloquial language on Jasieński's morphology and syntax is best seen in his poem "Marsz." The poem contains the ungrammatical, colloquial inflections of an uneducated laundress or seamstress:

Panna. Płacze: — Idą. Na wojnę.
Takie. Młode. Takie. Przystojne. —

Instead of the correct plural form of the adjectives referring to masculine personal nouns, "tacy młodzi, tacy przystojni," the colloquial form is used: "takie młode, takie przystojne." Direct speech continues in the verses "Ech by. Było. Młodych. Mam!" based on elliptical construction, so characteristic of spoken language. Ellipsis is the underlying feature of the whole poem; a single word replaces a whole sentence in: "Praczkі. Szwachki. Okrzyki. Kwiatki" or "Ludzie. Ludzie. Skłębienie. Potok." The words are somehow freed from syntactic subserviency. They function as independent entities.

The poem successfully reproduces the intonation of spoken language:

Co?... Co?... Leży... Krew...
Łapia... Kapia. Liście. Z drzew.
— Puśćcie! Puśćcie! Puśćcie! Ja nieechcę! —
Kurz. Kłębem. W zębach. Łechce.

All the cadences and habits of common speech are here: the rising intonation of a question, elliptical constructions and short emphatic words. Some of the words are repeated: "Puśócie! Puśócie! Puśócie!" Others, such as "nieechcę," are rendered phonetically.

The same influence of colloquial language on poetic discourse distinguishes Vladimir Maiakovskii's poetry. Maiakovskii, more than any other Russian poet, was responsible for the transformation of the highly conventional poetic language into everyday language. He renovated the lexicon and phraseological stock of Russian poetry by introducing common words and augmentatives. He opened wide the door for colloquial morphology and syntax, characterized by the frequent use of elliptical constructions and the omission of conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns.²⁸

Maiakovskii's renovation of poetic language impressed Jasieński very much and the Polish Futurist attempted to do the same in regard to Polish poetry. In doing so, he often relied on the Russian Futurist's model. The extent of Maiakovskii's influence on Jasieński will be discussed in the next chapter.

METAPHOR

In 1922 in the third issue of Zwrotnica, Tadeusz Peiper wrote:

Poezja dzisiejsza drga cała od zamieci metafor.
Nigdy przenośnia nie była środkiem artystycznym
tak faworyzowanym jak dzisiaj.²⁹

These accurate remarks from "Metafora teraźniejszości" were the starting point for the introduction of his theory identifying the poetic language with the use of the metaphor. Peiper regarded the metaphor as a basic form of poetic expression because of its two salient features: anti-realism and economy. First of all, the metaphor transforms existing reality into a new poetic reality. Secondly, the transformation is achieved with a minimum of artistic means because the metaphor assumes a condensed expression.

Peiper's article clearly illustrated the aesthetics of the Cracow Awangarda, who regarded the metaphor as the best means to remove the literalness of poetic language and to transmit spontaneous lyric emotions by the rapprochement of the object with poetic denominationalization.

The reconsideration of the function of a metaphor was undoubtedly Awangarda's most important contribution to the development of modern Polish poetry. However, some attempts in this direction had already been made by the Futurist poets. It was primarily the economy of the metaphor that attracted the attention of the Futurists. "Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej" called for "a minimum of material with a maximum of dynamics," and the metaphor was an ideal form to amplify the meaning without necessarily

increasing the amount of verbal space required. The Futurists never developed the theoretical foundation for the use of metaphor but they readily utilized it in their poetry. The widespread use of metaphor is especially characteristic of two Polish Futurists, Bruno Jasieński and Anatol Stern.

Stern's adherence to metaphor was noticed by Kazimierz Wyka, who entitled his article "Z lawy metafor" (From a Lava of Metaphors). Quoting Stern's poem "Kobiety wyśnione," Wyka writes: ". . . such an alloy, such a lava of metaphors appears everywhere in 'Futureses,' and still predominates in 'An Angelic Boor'."³⁰ The underlying feature of Stern's metaphors is their strong biologism, which endows the whole surrounding world with the characteristics of living organisms. Nature is often described in terms of the human body; inanimate objects are animated; even technical objects share the properties of the human world. In his metaphors Stern eliminates the antinomy between the animate and the inanimate, between the imaginable and unimaginable:

Krótkie spięcia terminów i pojęć, które dotąd nie spotykały się ze sobą, oraz zderzenia całych zakresów pojęciowych są tak niespodziewane, że miewają sens nadrealistycznej niespodzianki. Aczkolwiek podstawa ich nie jest irracjonalna i przypadkowa, lecz wymyślna i intelektualistyczna.³¹

Indeed, he comes close to Surrealism in his unusual linking of words, but contrary to Surrealism, his metaphors are products of the intellect, not of the irrational or coincidental.³²

The only other Polish Futurist equal to Stern in the use of metaphors was Bruno Jasieński, whose mature poetry is highly metaphoric. Jasieński's metaphors are diversified in their formal structure with a predominance of the substantive, verbal and adjectival. Many of his substantive metaphors are on the borderline between metaphor and simile. It has been generally accepted that the simile compares two essentially different items and indicates the comparison by such terms as 'like' or 'as,' whereas metaphor is an implied analogy which identifies one thing with another. Terence Hawkes observes in his book Metaphor:

. . . where metaphor assumes that the transference is possible or has already taken place, simile proposes the transference and explains it by means of terms such as "like," "as if."³³

Many of Jasieński's juxtapositions of words could not be univocally determined; formally they might resemble a metaphor since they lack the typical simile indicators 'as' or 'like,' while semantically they are closer to a simile in that they compare two things rather than identify one with another. A typical form on the borderline between metaphor and simile is a rhetorical equation which combines two nouns with the help of the copula 'jest' or a combination of two nouns without any syntactic subordination. The juxtaposition of words in "mały człowiek jest centralną rozśpiewaną stacją" (a small man is a central singing station), or in "noc — cudowna znachorka" (night—a miraculous quack),

"miasto — fabryka ludzi" (city—a factory of people) does not lead to the emergence of a new meaning; there is still a clear demarcation between the two contexts. The same is true for the substantive metaphor linking two concrete nouns in a genitive construction like "jabłka lamp," "klomby rymów," "strumyk jezdnii." A basis for these constructions is the similarity of both objects; the shape of a lamp resembles the shape of an apple, the busy street produces a noise similar to that of a torrent. In all cases the duality of meaning is preserved.

A totally different effect is achieved by juxtaposition of an abstract noun with a concrete one based on divergence rather than on analogy. Such combinations of words as "strachu tuman" (a cloud of fear), "kwas bezsenności" (acid of insomnia), or "morze wyobraźni" (the sea of imagination), create new shades of meanings, clearly distinguished from the meanings of their components. The unexpected linking of words having no logical relation with each other becomes the foundation of many of Jasieński's metaphors.

Very distant semantic concepts are often juxtaposed in a metaphor by connecting a concrete object with an abstract notion: "łyżka ciepła, kochaności" (a spoon of warmth and love), "podszewka z krzywdy" (lining made of harm); by attaching a concrete epithet to a general concept: "wiatr obleśny i lepki" (smooth and sticky wind); or by

linking a general concept with a concrete action: "skowyt się wspinał" (a yelp was climbing), "otrząsam złość" (I shake my anger). The juxtaposed words evoke such diverse and contradictory associations that they forbid the formation of a clear image. Not referring to an observable world these metaphors are autotelic; hence unimaginable and visually inconceivable.

In Jasieński's poetry the verbal metaphor is as frequent as the substantive one. Jasieński prefers to use the intransitive verb which is metaphorical in relation to a subject, as in "siadły smutki" (sorrows sat down), "chodzi cisza" (silence walks). As a rule the subject is either animated or personified, but sometimes an inanimate thing is changed into another thing, as in "słowa drżą i trzepoczą" or "domy rozlały się." The words behave like flags: they "flicker," while the houses are linked with the flood: they "spilled." A change from one thing into another also occurs in metaphors utilizing the intransitive verb in relation to an indirect object, though such a metaphor as "nikt ci nie plunie kulą w twarz" (no one will spit a bullet in your face) is very rare in Jasieński's poetry.

The transitive verb, although less frequent than the intransitive one, also occurs in his metaphorical expressions. It is usually metaphoric in relation to both the subject and the direct object, and it animates the subject and changes

one inanimate object into another: "półmrok myśli wygnał" (twilight chased out thoughts), "noc zniosła księżycowe jajko" (a night laid a moon egg). Likewise, the transitive verb is often metaphoric in relation to a direct object. In "złość otrząsam jak drzewa z szyszek" the abstract notion "anger" acquires the features of a concrete object, the poet "shakes his anger like the cones from a tree."

Most of Jasieński's verbal metaphors describe accomplished actions; he prefers to use the past or present tense, but there are instances of the use of the future tense, though in such cases the action always promises to be completed: "rozsypiecie się morzem wielobarwnym pstrym" (you will scatter [like] the sea, multicoloured and mottled), "przeleje się mój krzyk i miastem wstrząśnie jak dźwigar" (my cry will spill and shake the city like a girder).

The third big group of Jasieński's metaphors is the adjectival metaphor in which the adjective implicitly changes the noun it qualifies. The metaphoric use of the adjective, like the verb, implies the change either from abstraction to personification: "przerażone noce" (horror-struck nights), or from thing to person: "strofy pijane rytmem" (stanzas drunk with rhythm), seldom a transformation from thing to thing as in "aksamitne ręce," "zamszowe powieki." The last two examples border on simile since they suggest a comparison rather than a new quality; "velvet hands" suggest hands soft

as velvet, "suede eyelids" compare the eyelids with suede.

The metaphoric use of the adjective is characteristic of Jasieński's mature poetry; in his early poems the adjective functions as a merely descriptive epithet. He was especially fond of triple constructions epithet-epithet-object. In "Ipecacuana" we find, for example, "oczy wklęsłe, takie ogromne, dalekie" (eyes, sunken, so huge and distant), "długie, błękitne rzęsy" (long, blue eyelashes), "białe, zamszowe powieki" (white, suede eyelids), "duża, śliska sarkoma" (big, slimy sarcoma), "smutna, niebieska pani" (sad, blue lady).

Most of Jasieński's metaphors result from the juxtaposition of two items, but some of the verbal metaphors are transformed into metaphoric sentences based on a number of phenomena. A description of the rain in Pieśń o głodzie is achieved by a number of metaphors bringing together two contexts, that of a city and of a cry:

Krople czarne, maleńkie, natrętne
wyrzucone z krwią razem z powrotem
z płuc
po czarnej pooranej szynami twarzy
spłynęły łzami tramwajów.

The equation of rain drops with "trams," which "flow on the face plowed with rails" refers to the same sphere of associations, and this uniform organization of secondary associations produces a suggestive metaphor.

This technique of introducing several metaphors, all

referring to the specific feature of the described object, was also utilized in the long poem "Miasto," where a night city is described by a sequence of metaphors involving dancing street lamps:

Na skrócie ulic
 Lampy migocą.
 Lampy. Lampy. Lampy.
 Wysypały zza węgła łańcuchem.
 Białe. Oszalałe.
 Biegna gdzieś, uciekają gdzieś, lecą parami
 Ulicami. Bulwarami.

 Przeleciały armią szybką, stulicą
 Nad zziębniętą ogłupiałą ulicą.
 Zarzuciły łyse głowy
 na bakier.

The entire part six of the poem is an expanded metaphor personifying the lamps. They gather for a meeting, run through the streets and avenues, and dance. But it is a very desperate dance.

Indeed, as we turn to the content of Jasieński's metaphors, we notice a desperation so keen that even Nature is degraded and depoeitized by metaphors setting up vulgar associations. The cosmos itself becomes the object of deliberate attack. The moon is identified with a gonococcus, "księżyc — gonokok," the sun with a pimple, "jedno słońce się wkrości," The night resembles a drunken woman: "noc pijana od szampana i warg," "noc miała piersi wypukłe." Nature is endowed with animal features, as in "dzień zdycha na zachodzie" (day dies in the west), "zorzy czerwone ozory" (the dawn's red tongues), "rozdziawiona paszcza nocy" (the

night's gaping jaws), "skomlą drzewa" (the trees whine).

On the whole Jasieński characterizes Nature rather meagrely, confining himself to the more general aspects—the times of the day, the seasons, the sky, and only occasionally specific trees and flowers. For him Nature is primarily the urban landscape, the landscape that could be seen from the window of a city apartment. His urban metaphor, as a rule, animates the city, either by juxtaposing the city with a part of a human body or its organs, as in "tętnice ulic" (streets' arteries), "gardło ulicy" (street's throat), "brzuch miast" (stomach of the cities), or by endowing it with the qualities characteristic of the living world: "ulice kłaniały się" (the streets were bowing), "a czarne ściany rosną" (the black walls are growing). Some of the urban metaphors, however, convey a vivid description of a city by linking the elements of a city with inanimate objects, as in "oceany ulic" (the oceans of streets), "strumyk jezdni" (roadway's stream), "sahary miast" (the streets' Saharas).

Many industrial metaphors are constructed in the same way: "oczu semafor" (eyes' semaphore), "kinematograf szprych" (cinematograph of spokes), "ziemi propeller" (the earth's propeller). Animation of machines is found in rare instances, such as "pociąg szyby okien chustką dymu czyścił" (a train was cleaning the windows with a cloth of smoke). Frequently,

Nature is endowed with the properties of concrete material objects, as in "nieba asfalt" (sky's asphalt), "blacha słońca" (the sun's tin plate), "biały chodnik chmur" (a sidewalk of clouds).

Surprisingly, there are very few metaphors based on the analogy between man and the machine, so popular in Futurist poetry. A few instances of such metaphors appear in the poem "Morse" which identifies man with a telegraphic apparatus: "każdy z nas to aparat systemu Morse" (each of us is a relay station), "mały człowieczek jest centralną rozśpiewaną stacją" (a small man is a central singing station).

A content analysis of Jasieński's metaphors reveals the poet's reliance on technology and urban life. As befitted a Futurist, Jasieński turned to the life of the city where he sought relationships and identities shocking in their incongruity. He based his metaphors on earthy, concrete objects, rather than on abstract concepts so popular with the poets of Młoda Polska.

PROSODY

One of the striking features of Jasieński's poetry is the frequent use of traditional metric forms. Contrary to the Futurist slogan to repudiate metrics, Jasieński is still attached to regular rhythmic structure. All three basic

systems of Polish prosody are represented in his poetry: the syllabic, the accentual and the syllabo-accentual. At the same time he boldly experiments with vers libre.

The first volume of Jasieński's poems, But w butonierce, is very characteristic in this regard, almost half the poems being in the traditional metric pattern, the rest in free verse. The syllabo-accentual system predominates in this collection, especially one of its trinary forms, the anapaest. The poems "But w butonierce," "Rzygające posągi" and "Trupy z kawiozem," among others, are almost classic examples of the four-foot anapaest with the caesura after the seventh syllable and with the constant hypercatalexis in the caesura and in the clausula of every even line. The verses are divided into quatrains with alternating AbAb rhymes:

Ąlę ęe/rąz, jędnāk/zę, //nięch się Pā/nĩ ősā/lĩ,—
 Nāwęt lō/kāj dręwniā/nỹ//jũž ősmię/lā się śmięc...
 Dziś będzię/mỹ pō pār/kũ//nā wýścĩ/gĩ bięgā/lĩ
 Ĩ nā łāw/kĩ pādā/lĩ, //zādýszā/nĩ nā śmięc.

Such a regular rhythmical pattern has, nevertheless, its shortcomings. It creates a monotony of rhythm that reminds one of the music of a hand-organ. To avoid this pitfall most of the poets consciously break down the regularity of the rhythm by diversifying the line-length, by shifting the stress and by eliminating the caesura in certain verses.

This is also done by Jasieński, who intentionally introduces certain deviations in rhythm into his anapaestic poems. In "Rzygające posągi" (The Vomiting Statues), for instance, the rhythmic variations are achieved by inserting additional stresses, by shortening the line, or by shifting the caesura. The third stanza starts every line with a 'heavy foot.' Besides the regular stress on the third syllable, there is an additional stress on the first one:

Pānī dzī/siāj, dōprāw/dỹ, //jěst klāsȳcz/niě...
niědbā/lǎ...

Pānī, ktō/rā tāk zīm/nō//grā sěrcā/mī w cěrceāu,
Tākā sztyw/nā ĭ dūm/nā...//tāk cūdōw/niē ūmiā/łā
Nāwēt pūs/ciēc się z szy/kiēm//pō trzēch szklāch/
curação.

The regular alternation of fourteen and thirteen syllable verses is broken by the introduction of a shorter line, as in "I napiera się głośno cacao-choix," which is shortened by two syllables. The elimination of the last syllable before the caesura in "Cõ śrõdŷ/ ĭ piątkĩ//w Pāńĩ biā/łŷm sālõ/niě" produces an amphibrach instead of an anapaest.

Besides anapaest, many other syllabo-accentual forms occur in Jasieński's poetry. The dactyl is used for a poem "Zarażeni" (The Infected), in which the three-foot lines with the catalexis in the clausula alternate with two-foot lines:

Twārzě ō/brzēklě, zrō/piālě ĭ/ dūžě
Rēcě bēz/ksztāltně jāk/ z pniā

verse, syllabism and accentual verse are rather infrequent in Jasieński's poetry, but there are poems utilizing one of them. "Matki" (Mothers) has the rhythm of thirteen-syllable verse with a caesura after the seventh syllable, while "Ipecacuana" and "Marsz" represent verses with three and four accents, respectively.

The use of the traditional metrics was also characteristic of other Polish Futurists. Jankowski's collection Tram wpopszek ulicy contains many syllabic poems, notably "Z knajpy" and "Tram wpopszek ulicy." The syllabo-accentual forms dominate Młodożeniec' Kreski i futureski; iambic rhythm is used in "Okrzyki," the trochaic in "Przyśpiew," and the paeonic in "XX wiek."

The occurrence of traditional systems of versification in Futurist writings is understandable in view of the fact that prosody still reigned in twentieth-century Polish poetry. Accentual verse was just in its prime. Kasprowicz' Księga ubogich (The Book of the Poor), the first complete volume demonstrating the triumph of the accentual system, was published in 1916; many young poets such as Wierzyński, Iłłakowiczówna and Tuwim tried to exploit the possibilities of this new system. Syllabo-accentual verse was cultivated not only by the epigones of Młoda Polska, but also by such talented poets as Staff and Leśmian and the Skamander poets. Syllabism also had a tremendous vitality. It survived the

invasion of other systems and was still flourishing in the Skamander poetry of Iwaszkiewicz, Wierzyński and Lechoń. Of course, there were sporadic attempts to acknowledge the values of free verse, like Słonimski's "Życie i śmierć" or Iwaszkiewicz' "Do Dionizosa," but the reign of the traditional metrics was unquestionable.³⁴

The situation changed drastically after the rise of Zwrotnica, uniting young Cracow poets searching for new forms of poetic expression. The problem of vers libre was at the centre of their attention and they eagerly investigated its possibilities in relation to Polish poetry. Tadeusz Peiper and Julian Przyboś were the most outspoken exponents of free verse. But if they were unanimous in their belief in the primacy of this form over the traditional versification, they disagreed as to the structure of free verse.

Peiper espoused sentential verse totally dependent on syntactic structure. The verse division was to endorse the syntactic order. The rhyming clausulas were to emphasize the pauses between the sentences or the independent syntactic elements. The stanzas were to make apparent the composition of the discourse.³⁵

Przyboś' version of free verse assumed the dependence of verse on intonation, not on syntax. Instead of following syntactic divisions, verse should be a means of reinterpreting

the relations between words. Punctuation should be an important structural element, making apparent the poet's reinterpretation of a sentence.³⁶

Both versions were fully elaborated in the theoretical statements as well as in the poetic practice of the Awangarda poets. Awangarda is rightly given credit for the establishment of free verse in modern Polish poetry,³⁷ but the efforts of some Futurist poets in this regard should not be overlooked. The original and powerful free verses written by Jasieński and Stern paved the way to full recognition of this form.

Jasieński began to experiment with free verse very early: almost half the poems in But w butonierce have free rhythm. His vers libre could be described as 'syntactic,' since the verse division is subordinated to the syntactic relations within the sentence. The end of the verse always coincides with the end of the sentence or the end of the independent syntactic phrase, as at the beginning of "Morga" (A Morgue):

Przyjechali czarną, zamkniętą karetką.
Wnieśli coś ciężkiego, nakrytego płachtą.
Postawili nosze na kamienie.
Robili rzecz zwinnie.

The same principle underlines the structure of such poems as "Przejechali" (They Ran Over), "Morse" (Morse) and "Zemby" (Teeth). Only occasionally is this harmony disturbed to carry over the phrase to the next line:

a nikt nie wie, że każdy z nas, papieży sekt,
to po prostu ubrany w miękki pless
aparat
systemu Morse.

.
Mały człowiek, jadący tramwajem,
prowadzący na dansingu tango
jest centralną rozśpiewaną stacją
słów szybujących z świstem w powietrzu, jak piłki,

In both passages, the enjambement occurs in the verses that carry the most important idea of the poem: the comparison of a man to a telegraph station relaying information sent in by the surrounding reality. The violation of the syntactic harmony of the line suggests the unusual significance of the metaphor equating man with the telegraph apparatus.

Jasieński's free verses without regular metrical pattern, diversified in line-length, preserve, nevertheless, a certain rhythmical organization that forbids us to regard them as prose. This rhythmical organization is achieved by a number of devices: rhyme, stabilization of the intonation pause in clausula, stylistic parallelism and others.

In "Morga" two-thirds of all verses end either with rhymes "biało/stało," "sień/cień," "piwnicy/ulicy" or with assonances "latarnią/przepadło," "latarnią/przystanął." They are not noticeable at first glance since many of them are separated by a number of lines. The poem contains many instances of stylistic parallelism: the repetition of single words as well as of word phrases:

Klucz zgrzytnął w zamku...
Jeszcze ciche oddalone głosy...

Jeszcze kroki cichnące na górę...
 (... Jak myśli ... jak myśli ...)

 Zostawili SAMĄ, zupełnie SAMĄ ...
 Samą jedną na uboczu.

Certain verses of "Morga" have a noticeable metric pattern; notice the anapaest rhythm in the lines:

Cõś czårnē/gõ mǐgnē/łõ ... przēpād/łõ ...
 Mõžē szczūr?/ ... Mõžē ciēń/ z ũlĩcý? ...
 Jēdēn śwĩē/cĩł lātār/niǎ. Przýstā/nǎł.

A different type of free verse was utilized by Jasieński in his long poem Pieśń o głodzie, dominated by asyntactic verse which cuts the sentence into its components, according to the poet's interpretation. Disintegration of a sentence into its components was regarded by Jasieński as a means to introduce new relations and a new hierarchy between the words. The following lines from the prologue of Pieśń o głodzie illustrate this principle of the reorganization of the syntactic relations within a sentence:

w rubryce nadzwyczajnych wypadków
 są małe, niewyraźne wzmianki,
 o śmierciach
 jakiś niewiadomych ludzi.

The word "śmierć" (death) is somewhat freed from syntactic subordination. As a part of the direct object it should follow the word "wzmianki" (mentions), but the poet assigned it a separate line, thus emphasizing its importance for the meaning of the sentence.

And again:

z odrzuconymi bezwładnie
 rękami
 ulic
 leżało Miasto krzyżem.

Here the most vital elements of the metaphor, "rękami" (arms) and "ulic" (streets), are given separate lines to shockingly illustrate the crucified city.

Sometimes the smallest syntactic component acquires a special value; note the emphasis on the conjunction in:

cztery okna
 i
 trrah!

The free rhythm of Pieśń o głodzie comes close to Przyboś' model, where verse structure fights against the syntactic pattern. But unlike Przyboś, Jasieński relies on the use of rhyme and assonance, which underline the rhythmic organization of the poem. What is more important, Jasieński's vers libre is not altogether free: the basic free rhythm is frequently deranged by the occurrence of the regular syllabic pattern. The graphic arrangement of the lines is often deceiving. A stanza which looks like free verse might have, in fact, a distinct metric organization:

Szli księża z kadzidłami, jeden długi gest rąk,
 i związek literatów w cylindrach i krepie,
 i cech z chorągwiami,
 w tużurkach,
 z orkiestrą,
 a potem tłum się czarny na rogach doczepiał.

Here we have a thirteen-syllable quatrain with the caesura after the seventh syllable. The syllabic organization is

strengthened by assonances "rąk/orkiestrą" and "krepie/doczepiał."

Both types of Jasieński's free verse, the syntactic and the asyntactic, coordinate verse structure with syntax, either by retaining the agreement between the two or by opposing one against the other. But there was also a possibility to ignore syntax by introducing "words at liberty," i.e., the words not constrained by any rules of syntax, logic or grammaticalness.³⁸ One of the ways to do so was to accept the phonetic composition, based on the juxtaposition of words according to their sound analogy and not according to their syntactic subordination. This was done by Jasieński in his poem "Wiosenno" where the syntactic relations are replaced by phonetic kinship. Instead of a syntactic unity there is a chain of single words. The syntactic anarchy is further emphasized by the absence of any punctuation:

TARAS koTARA S TARA raZ
 biAłe pAnny
 poezjAnny
 poezOwią poezAwia
 poezYjne poezOSny
 MAKI na haMAKI na sOSny
 roŚnym pełnowiOSnym rAnem

Another type of "words at liberty," introduced by Jasieński, was a composition of words based on ellipsis or alleged ellipsis. In "Marsz," for instance, every verse looks like a conglomerate of elliptic constructions, thanks

to the placing of period marks after each syntactic unit:

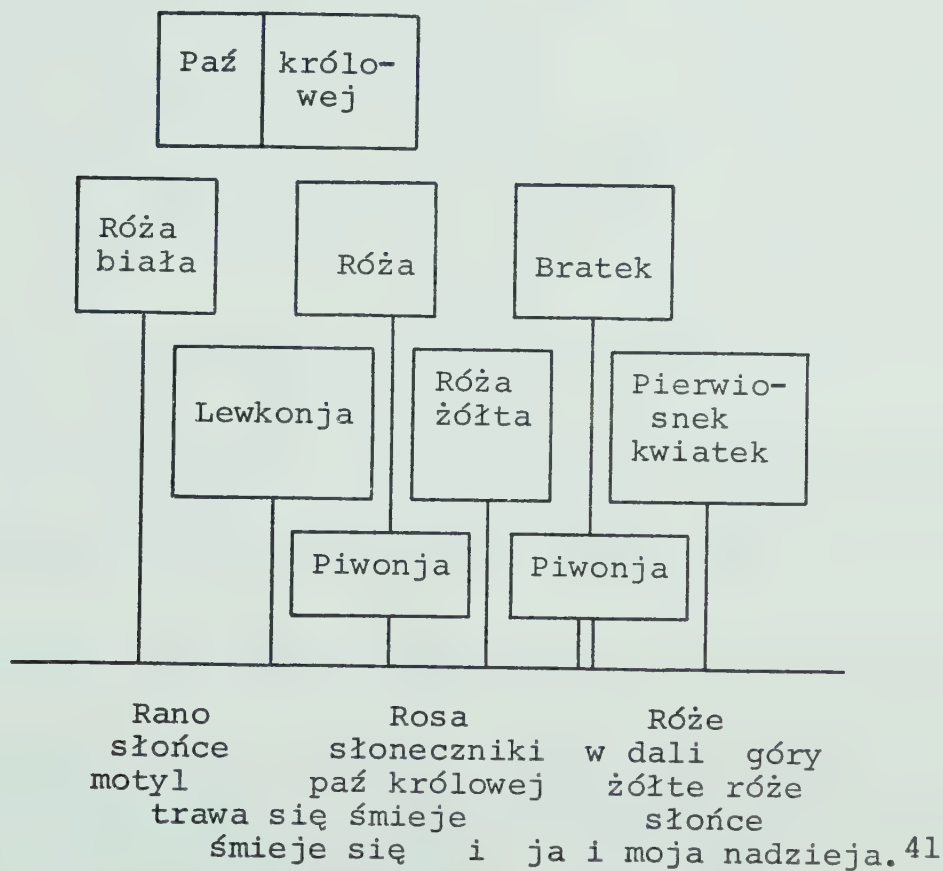
Ktoś się. Rozpłakał. Ktoś. Bez czapki.
 Liście. Kapią. Jak gęsie. Łapki.
 W parku. Żółknie. Gliniany. Heros.
 Chłopak. Z redakcji. Pali. Papieros.

The only inconsistency in Jasieński's version of parole in libertà was a noticeable rhythmic organization imposed on these asyntactic and alogical combinations of words. The four-accent verse dominates in "Marsz," while "Na rzece" has a distinct iambic rhythm. "Wiosenno" comes close to syllabic verse by equalizing the number of syllables in every line: eight in the first half of the poem, then ten. There are also numerous rhymes and assonances.

More consistent instances of "words at liberty" are represented by Tytus Czyżewski's poems "Hymn do maszyny mego ciała" (A Hymn to the Machine of My Body) and "Mechaniczny ogród" (A Mechanical Garden). The first one glorifies the human body in terms of a complex electro-magnetic system. The terms describing human organs are juxtaposed with electrical terms without any syntactic subordination. The syntactic ambiguity is intensified by the typographic devices: the words of the first stanza are typed in perpendicular columns, suggesting grouping of the words in such an order rather than the usual sequence in lines:

rew	pepsyna	rew
żołądek	serce	rew
pulsują	biją	nateżone
zwoje	mych	kiszek
	mózg ³⁹	

Among Polish Futurists, Czyżewski was probably the boldest experimenter in using typography as an element of artistic expression. He employed a variety of typefaces, arranged his words vertically and interpolated arresting signs like »————— 40 In "Mechaniczny ogród" he is not content with merely juxtaposing names of flowers, but types them in special squares, located on the top of vertical lines, that remind us of the flower form:



Jasieński's experiments with typographic devices are restricted to a few poems. In "Wiossenno" the phonetic affinity between words is made visual by the use of capital letters for similar sound sequences:

kłOSy na włOSy bOSO na rOSy
 z brUZDy na brUZDy jAZDy bez UZDy
 słOńce uLEwa na LEwo
 na LEwo na LEwo na LEwo prOSTo

More interesting is his poem "Morze" (The Sea), in which the word arrangement imitates the sea-waves:

Fale o olbrzymie o brzuchate o i o mokre
 ciężko o sapały o powalone o na o plecy
 słońce o ogromne o i o śniade o jak o okręt
 gniotło o ich o ciała o bezwstydnie o kobiece
 słońce o huśtało o się o słabnąć o i o dymiąc
 w o spazmach o rozkoszy o krzyk o długi o fal o rósł
 gdy o ssały o wodę o krwią o czarnych o wymion
 krtań o im o łaskotał o słoneczny o fallus.⁴²

This plastic arrangement of words reminds us of Apollinaire's visual art. One thinks of the words arranged as falling drops of rain in "Il pleut" and the visual images of a necktie and a watch in "La Cravate et la montre."⁴³

BRUNO JASIEŃSKI AND RUSSIAN FUTURISM

Jasieński's most important contribution to the development of Polish poetry was, undoubtedly, the creation of new forms of artistic expression. In his search for new forms, however, Jasieński often relied on the models elaborated by the Russian Futurists.⁴⁴ Jasieński's acquaintance with Russian Futurism dated back to the years 1914-1918,

when he attended a Polish High School in Moscow. These were the years of the flourishing of Russian Futurism, and Jasieński was probably a witness of some of their scandalous public appearances.

Jasieński's first idol was Igor Severiānin, the leader of the Ego-Futurist group. Following Severiānin, Jasieński idealizes the aspirations and dreams of the average townsman—fashionable restaurants, beautiful women, elegant clothes. In "Rzygające posągi" (The Vomiting Statues) and "Trupy z kawiozem" (Corpses with Caviar) he equates the luxury and comfort of high living with connoisseur food and the fine perfumes of voluptuous women, exactly the same as in Severiānin's "Karetka kurtizanki" (The Coach of a Courtesan) or "Kenzeli."⁴⁵ Easy love affairs fascinate Jasieński's heroes, they involve sophisticated ladies entertaining guests in their literary salons, and expensive courtesans. Jasieński's heroine from "Lili nudzi się" (Lili Is Bored) is a full sister of Severiānin's Zizi or Nelly from the poems of the same names. They spend their time reading Maeterlinck and Hauptmann, drinking liqueurs and going for exciting car rides. The automobile is considered by both poets a symbol of modern living, and many of their poems describe the excitement of driving a car. This is the case with Jasieński's "Miłość na aucie" (Love in a Car), which is a paraphrase of Severiānin's "Iŭl'skiŭ polden'" (July Midday).

Like Severiānin, Jasieński animates Nature, and the images of "running fields, forests, and marshes" reflect the changing landscape seen from the moving car:

Było złote, letnie rano w szumie kolnych heksametrów.
Auto szło po równej szosie, zostawiając w tyle kurz.
Zbity licznik pokazywał 160 kilometrów.
Koło nas leciały pola rozpluskanych, żółtych zbóż.

Koło nas leciały lasy, i zagaja, i mokradła,
Jakaś łąka, jakaś rzeka, jakaś w drzewach skryta wieś.
Ja objąłem Panią ręką, żeby Pani nie wypadła.
Wicher zdarł mi czapkę z głowy i po polach poniosł
gdzieś.

And in Severiānin:

Элегантная коляска, в электрическом биеньи,
Эластично шелестела по шоссе́йному песку;
В ней две девственные дамы, в быстро-темном упоеньи,
В ало-встечном устремленьи — это пчелки к лепестку.

А кругом бежали сосны, идеалы равноправий,
Плыло небо, пело солнце, кувыркали ветерок,
И под шинами мотора пыль дымилась, прыгал гравий,
Совпадала с ветром птичка на дороге без дорог.⁴⁶

In "Miłość na aucie" Jasieński develops the image of Severiānin's "somersaulting wind" into an image of the mischief-making wind, who "tore the hat off my head and carried it away." He transforms Severiānin's metaphor "to get drunk on the wine of delight" (i p'îanel vinom vostorga) into a picture of a drunken world which "went mad as if on wine" (świat oszalał jak od wina). The feeling of happiness, conveyed by the verses "Pani śmiała się radośnie błyskawicznym tremolando,/obryzgany Pani śmiechem śmiał się złoty, jasny dzień" paraphrases Severiānin's "khokhot svezhiĭ tochno more, khokhot, zharkiĭ tochno krater."

Jasieński's dependence on "Iŭl'skiŭ polden'" was not restricted to the use of identical motifs and images.

"Miłość na aucie" also imitates the metric pattern of the original—four-foot third paeon with the caesura after the eighth syllable, the catalexis in every even line and the rhyming scheme AbAb. The Polish poem, however, has more disturbances in the rhythm: many paeonic feet are replaced by trochaic.

It seems that Jasieński was truly fascinated with the metric elegance of Severianin's poetry, based on a regular and flowing rhythm, often combining two different metres, usually paeon with one of the trinary forms. Half the poems in Jasieński's But w butonierce have a traditional prosody, the paeon and the anapaest being the most frequent forms.

Jasieński also adopted the neological technique of the Russian Futurist. Severianin's profuse coining of new words was also based on compounds and denominal formations. He built his compounds by connecting two existing words with the help of the linking vowel: "klenokhod," "chernoless'e," "sontsev'ŭga." His derivatives, on the other hand, utilized the noun roots to form new verbs, adjectives and adverbs: "okaloshit'," "vesenit'siâ," "l'dis'," "ofialchen," "grozovo," "tundrovo."

Following Severianin, Jasieński introduced into his poetry numerous Gallicisms, including those that had already

established themselves in Polish as well as new terms. As in Severiānin, the semantic range of foreign vocabulary is determined by two spheres of life—clothing and drink. Thus Jasieński often speaks about "chapeau," "dessous," "crêpe de chine," and "cacao-choix," "curaçao," "Clicot," "Cordial-médoc." The flavour of exoticism is also brought in by the use of foreign names—those of famous artists, and of business firms, like "Pate & Co.," "Piedmont," "Mur & Merilis." Many of the Gallicisms are placed in the rhyming position, which assures them visibility and importance:

Na klawiszach usiadły pokrzywione bemole,
Przeraźliwie się nudzą i ziewają Uaaaa ...
Rozebrana Gioconda stoi w majtkach na stole
I napiera się głośno cacao-choix.
.....
Pani dzisiaj, doprawdy, jest klasycznie... niedbała...
Pani, która tak zimno gra sercami w cerceau,
Taka sztywna i dumna ... tak cudownie umiała
Nawet puścić się z szykiem po 3 szklach curaçao.

And in Severiānin:

Безшумно шло моторное ландо
По "островам" к зеленому "пуанту",
И взор Зизи, певучее рондо,
Скользя в лорнет, томил колени франту.⁴⁷

Jasieński's inventiveness in the field of rhyme, discussed earlier, had its parallel in Severiānin too. The Russian poet was very fond of unusual rhymes, especially of assonance and of compound rhymes. The best manifestation of his great skill in this regard is his poem "Zaberus' na rassvete" in which he exhausted all the vowel resources of one combination: "kedr/eskadr/bodr/mudr/vydr."

If Severianin's poetry was the model for Jasieński's earlier poems, Vladimir Maiakovskiĭ was the model for the later ones. Like Maiakovskiĭ, Jasieński turns to city life, but this time it is the life of the city lumpenproletariat, not of the frequenters of salons and restaurants. "I want to glorify the coarse, black roughnecks," proclaims Jasieński in his "Zmęczył mnie język," and he does so in such poems as "Zakładnicy," "Miasto," and Pieśń o głodzie. From now on he speaks about hungry people, about cheap prostitutes, about rapes and accidents. The night life of a city is depicted in "Miasto." It includes prostitution and sexual deviations, thievery and murder. An old man rapes a seven-year-old girl, the body of a drowned pregnant woman is found. The whole city turns into a huge sexual orgy:

Po burdelach, hotelach, po chambre garnie
Tysiącem tłoków w rytmie krwi
Pracuje gigantyczne Dynamo.
Na kilometry sienników rozparło się Miasto

Jasieński's verses remind us of Maiakovskiĭ's poem "Adishche goroda" (Great Big Hell of a City):

И тогда уже — скомкав фонарей одеяла
Ночь излюбилась, похабна и пьяна,
А за солнцами улиц где-то ковыляла
Никому ненужная, дряблая луна.⁴⁸

The city evokes in both poets feelings of distaste and dissatisfaction, and so does Nature. The night is identified with a drunken woman; in Maiakovskiĭ: "night loved itself out, lewd and drunk"; in Jasieński: "night drunk from

champagne and lips." The moon is depicted by Mařakovskiř as an "unwanted flabby moon," and as a "gonococcus" by Jasieński. Nature is thus degraded, depoetized by metaphors setting up vulgar associations intended to shock a complacent public.

The similarities mentioned above could be easily explained by the fact that both poets were Futurists. Their affiliation with the Futurist movement could have been responsible for both the "brutal" urbanism and the anti-aestheticism. But there is also evidence that Jasieński borrowed directly from Mařakovskiř. He wrote Pieřń o gřodzie under the direct influence of Mařakovskiř's Oblako v shtanakh (A Cloud in Trousers).⁴⁹ The impact of Oblako on Jasieński's poem is evident on all levels.

The parallelism of the systems of motifs is most apparent in the first part of Pieřń, which has the same plot scheme as the Russian poem: loneliness, struggle with insanity, catastrophe, rescue action, thought of the nearest person. The protagonist of Pieřń is alone in his room and experiences a hallucination: the room resembles a gigantic mouth, which attacks him. Driven to extremity, he jumps from a window, but bounces like a ball. He is surrounded by a crowd; the people at first try to help him, but eventually turn hostile and kill him. The parallel with the first part of Oblako is evident. Mařakovskiř's hero is also close to

insanity, his nerves "jerk and dance," his "I is too small for him." The cause of his sufferings is an unhappy love affair. His heart is aflame, and the expression "heart's fire" evokes an image of the real fire and the firemen, who want to rescue the burning poet. Unfortunately, "one cannot jump out of one's heart." Jasieński provides a totally different motivation for his hero's tragedy. His protagonist's hallucination results not from unrequited love but from starvation. He is consumed by a hunger fever, and so begins his conflict with the rest of the world.

The remaining parts of Pieśń o głodzie are more distant from the Russian poem. Unlike Oblako, where the importance of the plot declines, Jasieński's poem is still plot-oriented. It is based on a series of events narrated by the author. Jasieński transforms the original from the lyric into the epic mode, clearly preserving its ideological connotations. Following Mařakovskiř Jasieński proclaims: "Down with your art! Down with your religion! Down with your social system!" The only element lacking in Pieśń is "Down with your love!" The erotic theme does not appear in Jasieński at all.

The rejection of traditional art is best expressed in the prologue of Pieśń o głodzie. "I don't read Strindberg, nor Norwid," announces Jasieński. "Poets are not needed any more":

poeci, jesteście niepotrzebni!
 ja nie czytam strindberga, ani norwida,
 nie przyznaję się do żadnego spadku.
 czytam świeże, pachnące farbą dzienniki,
 z bijącym sercem przeglądam rubryki wypadków

This denunciation of poetry springs from the conviction that the real poetry is to be found in reality. The same conviction was formulated in Oblako:

Что мне до Фауста,
 феерией ракет
 скользящего с Мефистофелем в небесном паркете!
 Я знаю —
 гвоздь у меня в сапоге
 кошмарней, чем фантазия у Гете!

Like Mañakovskiĭ, Jasieński challenges existing religion. God has no passion for the common people, so the crowd of black and ragged workers lynches Christ:

kułakami, laskami, zabili, zatłukli.
 poturbowane, umęczone ciało
 upadło pod razami spracowanych rąk.

In Oblako the poet himself fights with God:

Видишь, я нагибаюсь,
 изза голенища
 достаю сапожный ножик.

In both poems, anti-government tendencies are connected with the division of people into the poor and the rich, or rather into the hungry and the satiated. Satiety is for Mañakovskiĭ a synonym of something ugly and repulsive:

лопались люди,
 проевшись насквозь,
 и сочились сквозь трещины сало,
 мутной рекой с экипажем стекала
 вместе с иссосанной булкой
 жевотина старых котлет.

Pieśń reverses Maïakovskiï's scheme. Instead of speaking of the well-fed bourgeoisie, it describes the starvation of the poor people:

brzuchy nasze zielone, granatowe, sine,
takie lekkie przedziwnie, ciążą nam, jak więzy.
w dzień żujemy niesmaczną słodkockliwą ślinę,
a w nocy ssiemy własny zskorupiały język.

The impact of Oblako on Pieśń was probably strongest on the level of stylistic devices. Many of Jasieński's metaphors explicitly paraphrase Maïakovskiï. The metaphor depicting the clouds as "organizing a meeting on earth" corresponds to Maïakovskiï's clouds "proclaiming a strike against the sky":

Вдруг
и тучи
и облачное прочее
подняло на небе невероятную качку,
как будто расходятся белые рабочие,
небу объявив озлобленную стачку.

a czarne ściany rosną,
ciągną do góry,
zasłoniły całe niebo
zakryły szczyty,
jak gdyby ogromne ołowiane chmury
na niebie urządziły meeting.

Jasieński's image of "my dead body, bloody, trampled, red like a rag, from which they will perhaps tear off a clout for a flag" is a direct paraphrase of Maïakovskiï's "I will pull out my soul, big, bloody and flaming, a banner for you to lift on high":

И когда,
приход его
мятежом оглашая,

Выйдете к спасителю —
 вам я
 душу вытащу,
 растопчу,
 чтоб большая! —
 и окровавленную дам, как знамя.

idziecie!
 krzyczeć nie mogę!
 ogromni w zorzy pożodze.
 trup mój
 krwawy,
 stratowany,
 czerwony,
 jak łachman,
 z którego może szmatę na swój sztandar udra,
 w śmiertelnym zapatrzeniu leży wam na drodze,
 po której przechodzicie
 w JUTRO!

Such a direct paraphrase, however, occurs infrequently. More often the original metaphors are subjected to complex transformations based on substitution, inversion, reduction or abolition of certain elements. Mařakovskiř's image of the "jerking and jumping nerves" which are so tired that they "fall off their feet" is transformed by Jasieński into a metaphor describing "tired thoughts": "już myśli, jak kobiety, walą się z nóg." The description of the building which moves under the influence of the hero's sufferings in "rukhnula shtukaturka v nizhnem étazhe" is a starting point for Jasieński's expanded metaphor depicting the room as if it were the mouth of a person:

wolno tynk się na ścianach rozdwoił,
 jakby pokój wargami mlasnął.
 ścian rozmokniętych bezzębne dźwięka
 poruszyły się wolno.

Here Jasieński utilizes another metaphor from Oblako, that

of the "chattering doors":

Двери вдруг заляскали,
будто у гостиницы
не попадает зуб на зуб.

Even more complex transformations occur in Jasieński's treatment of the rain motif, where the compact metaphor, "muzzling against the rain, my face pressed against its pitted face, I wait splashed by the city's thundering surf," is expanded into a series of metaphors. Małakowski's image of the "city surf" is transformed into a picture of the city buildings "fed by rain":

domy czarne, obślizgłe, karmione deszczem
napęczniały, jak gąbki,
napuchły,
rozlały się, rozpełzły rozdęte, stulice
wystąpiły na chodniki z ciemności,
zsunęły się,
przecięły krzyczącą ulicę.

The metaphor of the rain attacking the human face is repeated in "lepiej deszczem po twarzy tłuc." The pitted face of the rain in Oblako is replaced by the image of the face of the city, flooded with "trams' tears":

krople czarne,
maleńkie,
natrętne,
wyrzucone z krwią razem z powrotem
z płuc
po czarnej pooranej szynami twarzy
spłynęły łzami tramwajów.

The influence of Oblako v shtanakh on Pieśń o głodzie was so tremendous that the Polish scholar Edward Balcerzan rightly considers Pieśń a latent translation from the Russian

original.⁵⁰ There is, however, a basic difference between the poems in the idea of the poet's role: the artist as prophet, not understood by the people, as opposed to the artist as servant, at one with the people and serving their interests. If Maiakovskiĭ declared himself on the side of the artist as individualist, aloof from the rest of the world, Jasieński believed in the opposite. The Polish poet was convinced that the role of the poet was to serve the people, and he initiated a dialogue with the Russian poet. Pieśń o głodzie offers a vision of the artist who is a part of the masses, who blends with them into one whole:

Z życiem rozgranym pod ręce na świata szerokie trakty
wyszliśmy rano, śpiewając, z płachtą koloru flamingo.
paszcz wytoczonych mitraliez suche rytmiczne antrakty
w krtan zabijemy z powrotem kulą wyplutą z brauninga.

kto nam, kto nam teraz drogę zagrodi samym?
wszystko zmiażdżymy butami piękni, ogromni i ludzcy.
miejsca! gromada idzie, proletariacki samum!
czapkami drogę wymościł taneczny krok rewolucji.

As Edward Balcerzan has pointed out, the Polish poem in a way "corrects" the ideological shortcomings of Oblako v shtanakh, but artistically it does not match the original:

Nie da się ukryć tego, co oczywiste, na tle poematu
Majakowskiego polski tekst wypadnie korzystnie tylko
w sferze korektur ideologicznych (likwidacja ego-
tyzmu, dojrzała solidarność zamiast anarchistycznego
buntu), natomiast w skali ocen artystycznych "Pieśń
o głodzie" okaże się czymś znacznie od pierwowzoru
uboższym.⁵¹

To summarize, we should point out that the influence of the Russian Cubo-Futurist on Bruno Jasieński proved very

fruitful. Under the impact of Mařakovskiř, Jasieński concentrated on the renovation of the Polish poetic language. He succeeded in transforming the highly conventional poetic language into everyday language and in developing a new type of metaphor based on earthy, concrete objects. He wrote original and powerful free verses depicting the life of the city's proletariat. Like Mařakovskiř, Jasieński became convinced that the only way to change the world is by revolution, and he used his poetry to propagate his revolutionary ideas.

CHAPTER III

SŁOWO O JAKUBIE SZELI AND FOLKLORE

The cult of technology and of modern civilization, responsible as it was for the modernization of themes and the transformation of the forms of artistic expression, was contradicted by another Futurist tendency; namely, its interest in folk art. The Polish Futurists derived many of their themes from folk poetry, imitated its song-like rhythm and reproduced its simple but awkward forms.

Recognizing the contradictions between the cult of technology and the presence of folk stylizations, Jerzy Jankowski wrote in an introduction to the second part of his Tram wpopszek ulicy:

Autor „Tramu” zamieszcza poniżej żeczy pokrewne symbolizmowi nie pszez pszywiązanie do tego kierunku z kturzego otszāsnać się zdołał, lecz jedynie pszez wzgląd na sprawę rozwoju formy poetyckiej. Ojczyzna autora—Litwa zaledwie pszczuwa urbanizm, neo-humanizm, i świadomość kosmiczną—pierwiastki składowe futuryzmu [sic].¹

The backwardness of Lithuania was for Jankowski a sufficient reason to justify his interest in folklore, an interest that was directed primarily towards the exploration of legendary motifs, rather than of the traditional folklore poetics.

The only attempt to reproduce the formal structure of the folk song was his "Płacz leśny" (A Forest Cry), a poem about the love between a mad girl and an oak, which resulted in

the birth of Dęborug, a God of Nature. The first part of "Płacz" successfully imitates the form of a "dajna," a Lithuanian folk song. It begins with incantation-like verses, followed by a motif of interdiction, whose violation marks the beginning of the story. Stereotyped folk devices are utilized here: negative parallelism, fixed epithets, affective suffixes and all kinds of repetition:

Nie słuchała matuli rodzonej
 Nie słuchała matuli kochanej
 Posłuchała złej doli—tęsknicy
 Posłuchała zwodnicy
 Poszła w las samiuteńka.²

If the economic backwardness of Lithuania was a justification for Jankowski's use of folklore, Tytus Czyżewski's motivation was just the opposite: his Pastorałki (Bucolics) grew out of the fear of the disastrous consequences of modern civilization. Folklore with its sensitivity and imagination was for Czyżewski the best means to save man and the arts from mechanization and urbanization. The imaginative rituals of the Polish Highlanders were the source of his "bucolics," highly stylized Christmas carols. As in the Christmas puppet show (szopka), the new-born Christ is greeted by three kings, led by a movable star, by shepherds and animals. The shepherds are dressed like typical Podhale carollers:

z krzywemi rogami
 z czornemi kudłami
 zebrali się Chłopy
 i przyszli do szopy³

The kings wear crowns and rich clothes embroidered with gold. All the visitors bear gifts, and the choice of gifts is very characteristic: shepherds bring lambs, honey and cheese; birds bring down for a blanket; the kings present Christ with chests full of gold and silver coins.

The form of Pastorałki is distinguished by a striking simplicity, imitating the awkward form of folk Christmas carols. Many poetic devices are used to strengthen the musical harmony: refrains, synonymic expressions, repetition of single words, phrases or even whole lines. The folk stylization is also apparent on the lexical level; the "bucolics" abound in dialecticisms, often depicting a regional inflection:

zlecieli się do stajenki wszyscy ptakowie
leśni grajkowie muzykantowie,
zleciały siwe sokoły, orłowie,
zięby, czyżyki i dzięciołowie.⁴

A true folk poet among Futurists was Stanisław Młodożeniec, whose Kreski i futureski (Strokes and futuresques) and "Chłopskie miary" (Peasant Measures) manifested the poet's desire to "folklorize" Futurism. He wrote typical Futurist poems and poems containing a strong folk element, like "Wesele," "Pogrzeb" and "Pastuch." Most of these folk stylizations, sustained in a lyric mood, depict a clear-cut situation and the type of ritual or activity determines the rhythmic organization of the poem. "Na weselu" (At a Wedding), for instance, follows the rhythm of the traditional

wedding songs and dances, while the wistful tones of the shepherd's pipe are heard in "Pastuch" (Shepherd). The song-like rhythm of these poems is achieved by means of refrains, rhythmical particles and interjections, as well as numerous repetitions:

Dziewiętnaście jej lat zmarniało —
 poszła — — umarła —
 ... oj-ta, oj-ta, oj-ta dana!...

Ojciec — matka — i pies sie ostał —
 była jedyna —
 ... oj-ta, oj-ta, oj-ta dana!...⁵

In a sense, Młodożeniec' folk poems are not too different from the analogical attempts introduced by the "Czartak" poets, expressing the total rejection of modern civilization in favour of primitive nature.⁶ But Młodożeniec' attitude towards modern civilization was more complex: on the one hand, as a true Futurist, he was fascinated with technology, while on the other, he feared its consequences and turned towards folklore as the only sphere that has preserved untainted human nature and simple forms of life. Thus he explored the resources of the folklore tradition and used them in his poetry in an attempt to enrich twentieth-century civilization with the values preserved therein.

Jasieński's use of folklore in his poem Słowo o Jakubie Szeli (Lay of Jakub Szela) had a totally different purpose. Folklore was used here as a means to transmit a

dissatisfaction with social injustice and a slogan of revolution in the forms closest to common experience. In this poem Jasieński set himself the difficult task of rehabilitating the Szela rebellion of 1846, regarded as a shameful incident in Polish history. During this rebellion the peasants, supposedly abetted by the Austrians, rose against the landlords and in this way prevented a national insurrection. Jasieński interpreted this event very differently. The Szela rebellion, in his opinion, resulted from social injustice and symbolized the peasant fight against serfdom. Szela himself was for Jasieński a leader who served his fellow-man:

Gdyby nawet Szela historyczny nie istniał, to w interesie o cały świat świadomości klasowej wzbogaconej kultury chłopskiej należałoby go wymyślić. Gdyby Szela istniejący nie był bohaterem, to i wówczas w imię męczeńskiej epopei krzywdy chłopskiej, należałoby to dźwignąć na wyżyny heroizmu. Tym bardziej skoro istniał...⁷

In order to make his interpretation convincing, Jasieński turned to the resources of folklore, which has always embraced common experiences in the simplest forms. He decided to produce an illusion of an anonymous folk creation expressing the views and opinions of the peasants. In the introduction he puts forward the fiction that this song about Szela had a very long oral tradition. His own task was simply to "collect" the song and bring it to the people:

W białe noce, od rżysk i gumien,
 porośniętych i mchem, i mgłą,
 pozbierałem tę pieśń, jak umiem,
 i przynoszę skrwawioną i złą.

The song, "collected from the stubbles and barns," is about Jakub Szela, cast in the role of a folk hero. It is told by Jasieński in a simple narrative composed of two threads, the first dealing with Szela's personal life, and the second describing Szela's involvement in the peasant revolt. As Edward Balcerzan has pointed out, the plot of Słowo is distinguished not only by a striking simplicity, but also by its similarity to the stereotype plot of folk tales.⁸ Jasieński's dependence on the narrative of the fairy tale is especially noticeable in the second and third parts, where each happening could be described by Propp's functions:⁹

Szela goes to Lwów to see the governor. For several weeks he appears in the governor's office and finally succeeds in seeing him.

The hero leaves home
 The hero is tested
 and interrogated

After his return home Szela is imprisoned by the landlord. The subprefect Breinl orders Szela freed. Breinl persuades Szela to revolt against the landlords and promises the abolition of serfdom.

More struggles

The villain deceives
 his victim

The revolt takes place. The

emperor orders the peasants to
stop their fight and to return
to serfdom. Szela refuses to
obey the orders and is
sentenced to death.

The villain is exposed

The end of the poem does not correspond to the usual optimistic ending of the fairy tale, where the villain is punished and the hero rewarded. Instead, Słowo ends with the protagonist's death.¹⁰ By condemning Szela to death Jasieński has elevated his hero to the level of a martyr who has sacrificed his life for his fellow-man.

But Szela's death is only the finishing touch in the process of the hero's mythologization, which takes place throughout the whole poem. One of the first episodes showing Szela's transformation into a hero is the peasants' meeting which decides to send an emissary to the Emperor's governor. This decision is based on a deep belief in the justice and generosity of the emperor and here one notes the folk tendency to portray the monarch in a favourable light. Szela is the only volunteer to perform this mission. His journey to Lwów develops the popular folk tale motif of the hero's journey. Throughout his testing and interrogation and his imprisonment he behaves with heroic steadfastness, strength of will and pride, surmounting all obstacles to achieve his goal.

Mythologization of the hero reaches its climax in Szela's encounter with Jesus Christ. Szela does not succumb even to God himself. On the contrary, he accuses Christ of great injustice. He is only concerned about the rich and does not give a damn about the poor:

Nie biegałeś, jak się naszych
krzywd przelała kwarta!
Widać garnca pańskiej kaszy
chłopska krew nie warta.
Nie ceniłeś ty krwi chłopskiej
za złamany szeląg! —
Czemużes się, Panie Jezu
tak o pańską przeląkł?

This 'verbal duel' between Szela and Christ ends with Szela's victory: frightened by the danger of the peasants' vengeance, Christ gives up his intention of helping the landlords and returns to heaven.

All this long, complex narrative, with its many characters and well-defined plot, is jammed into the framework of the folk lyric. Słowo o Jakubie Szeli is sustained in the tradition of Polish folk songs; its motifs, images, stylistic figures and metric form were inspired by folk couplets and ditties.¹¹

The adaptation of the lyric schemes of folk songs is most obvious in the first part of the poem describing Szela's wedding to Marysia. The happy mood of the groom and other guests is contrasted with the grief of the young bride, and the reason for her grief is obvious: she is marrying an old widower (according to Jasieński's poem Szela had already

buried three wives before he married the fourteen and a half year old Maryś; in reality Szela was married only twice). Here Jasieński repeats the warning from wedding and love songs:*

Wyrosła rutka z jałowca
Nie chodź dziewczyno za
włowca¹²

Wdowiec-mruk, będzie tłukł,
o tym każdy parch wie —
Złakomiłaś ty się, Maryś,
na ten zagon marchwi.

A gdzieżeś ty chłopcze
swoje oczka podział
Coś tego kulasa na żoneczkę
obrał?¹³

A gdzieżeś ty, Maryna,
miała oczy, powiedz,
że ci się uwidział
na młodego wdowiec?

Nie chciało ci się rutki
siać
Kazałaś se cepiec wdziąć
Nie chciałaś chodzić w
rucianym
Chodź teraz w wicianym.¹⁴

Weź se, Maryś, czepek nasadź,
jak nie chciałaś gęsi pasać,
jak nie chciałaś statków
myć —
idźże za mąż, idźże, idź!

Szela's marriage to Maryś proves unsuccessful: Maryś finds herself a lover, the farm hand Wicuś. Such a triangle is well known in folk songs:

Latali gołębie
Pływali karasie
Kiedy jeden kocha
To drugiemu zasię.¹⁵

U karasia kare skrzela,
u szczupaka — siwe.
Nie udało ci się, Szela,
to kochanie ckliwe.

For a long time Szela is unaware of his wife's unfaithfulness, but when he finds it out, he starts a fight with Wicuś. Jasieński's description of the fight is based on the folk song:

Jeden ciął go wedle pasa
To za ciebie, siostró nasza.

Jak uderzył Szela raz,
przyklął Wicuś, zgiął się w
pas.

* In the following tabulation the motifs from folk poetry are set on the left, passages from Słowo on the right.

Ciął go drugi wedle szyi
Jasio krew jak wodę pije.¹⁶

Jak uderzył Szela drugi —
poszły nosem krwi dwie
strugi.

Folk song motifs are also utilized in the consecutive parts of the poem. Probably the best illustration of it is a description of a rebellion and one of its participants, a shepherd Waluś. The image of a half-wit peasant was inspired by a folk song about a crazy Janek:

A gdzie to ten kusy Janek
co chodził z toporem
Przepasał się z osełką
podpierał się worem.

Był tam Waluś — pastuch,
w zimie chodził boso,
siekierką się opasywał,
podpierał się kosą.

Miał studzienkę za piecem,
nosił wodę przetakiem,
Łowił ryby widłami,
strzelał wróble gajdami.¹⁷

Janek's craziness becomes, however, very meaningful in the context of the revolt. His axe and scythe are to be used in the fight with the landlords, and his carrying water with a riddle is transformed into a suggestive image of peasants extinguishing the fire with butter and bringing water in the basket-wagons:

— A ci chłopcy siedliscy
gaszą ogień, aż piszczy,
w rozskrzypienie kół gorzkim
wożą wodę półkoszkiem.

The bloody character of the peasant rebellion is depicted in a distich which paraphrases a folk ditty:

Ej, karbowym orać
ekonomem włóczyć
oj, poczekaj ekonomie
będziemy cię uczyć.¹⁸

Hola na pola orki się uczyć,
orać karbowym, rządca
nawłóczyć!

Jasieński's dependence on folk songs is also apparent in the description of the life of serfs, depicted at the beginning of the second part of Słowo:

Oj, dobry nasz pan dobry
i dobrze mu się dzieje
Oj, ludzi ze wsi wygnał
i sam się ledwo chwieje.¹⁹

Oj, ni ma to chłopu,
ni ma jak pańszczyzna, —
żyje sobie wesół,
drugim się nie przyzna.

As Marian Rawiński has rightly pointed out, the extraordinary suggestiveness of this fragment results from the unusual contrast between the lively rhythm of the "krakowiak" and the seriousness of its content:

Niezwykła sugestywność omawianego fragmentu jest rezultatem napięcia między jego treścią i formą: żwawy rytm krakowiaka, popularne przyśpiewy "oj, ni ma to chłopu", "oj, nima to nima", wzięte z wesołych ludowych wyrwasów i ubadańek . . . sama wreszcie frazeologia, emanująca pogodny nastrój beztroski i niefrasobliwości "żyje sobie wesół", "ani dba o kupca", "nie narzeka na nic", — wszystko to stanowi formalną zaporę, którą rzeczywista i jednoznaczna w swej wymowie treść musi pokonać, nim zaatakuje wyobraźnię czytelnika.²⁰

The rhythm of the above stanzas about serfdom is patterned after the popular rhythm of folk ditties: a six-syllable verse with a rhyme scheme abcb. Indeed, throughout the poem as a whole Jasieński adheres to the syllabic schemes most popular in folk poetry. The most frequent rhythm juxtaposes the six-syllable line with the eight-syllable in two combinations 6,6,8,6 and 8,6,8,6. Every line has a caesura after the fourth syllable and one pair of feminine rhymes:

Latała, krzyczała
siwa gęś nad wodą

Nie zmawiajta się po karczmach,
idźta chłopcy, do dom.

Another frequently used rhythm combines eight and seven-syllable verses aabb. As a rule two paroxytonic eight-syllable lines are either preceded or followed by two oxytonic seven-syllable lines:

Tańcowała izba, stół
cztery konie, piąty wół.
Tańcowały krowy z obór,
Jak w tancerkach był niedobór.

The homogeneous seven and eight-syllable stanzas occur in Słowo rather seldom and have a noticeable trochaic rhythm. Seven-syllable verse with a caesura after the fourth syllable and masculine rhyme is chosen for the distichs depicting the rebellion as in "Tańcowali cztery dni/ani więcej, ani mniej." Eight-syllable quatrains aabb appear in the wedding scene:

A cóż ci to, Maryś, co ci,
że ci w oczkach się markoci,
że ci jakoś oczki puchną,
co przemówisz z którą druhną.

Jasieński was also influenced by the traditional folklore device of parallelism, derived from a feeling of unity between the human world and the world of Nature. In Słowo o Jakubie Szeli the mood of the people is often adumbrated by some parallel in the world of Nature. Szela, led to his execution, is mourned not only by the people, but also by Nature: the night is running away, the stars fall down, the wolves eat one of the gendarmes.

As in folk poetry, inanimate objects and abstract

phenomena are animated; everything is moving: flora, furniture, atmospheric phenomena, abstractions. At Szela's wedding everything dances—room, corridor, table, violin, horses, cows, storks. Elsewhere in the poem nightfall "walks in the fields," day "crawls," rain "kneads the dough of the roads." Abstract concepts are endowed with life: pain "has to go begging" and happiness "splashes the fools with a jug." Even Szela's song becomes a living thing. It hides in the fields to catch the poet and force him to transmit it to posterity:

Raz ta pieśń — zaszła mnie w życie, za łąką,
powaliła, przygniotła, kazała służyć!
i wyrwała mi język jak płony kłóć,
a miast niego wetknęła mi nóż.

Coming back to the question of parallelism, it should be noted that its use is restricted to a few instances, but its appearance always marks the most dramatic moments in the poem. Juxtaposition of man and Nature occurs in the final scene describing Szela's execution. Another parallel sequence predicts the dramatic outcome of the love affair between Maryś and Szela's farm hand, Wicuś:

U karasia kare skrzela,
u szczupaka siwe.
Nie udało ci się, Szela,
to kochanie ckliwe.

The device of parallelism also marks the meeting at the inn which is the beginning of the peasant unrest and the emergence of Szela as a leader. Imprisoned by his landlord,

Szela withstands all the hardship. His strong will and obstinacy are emphasized by a tetrastich:

W sadzie drzewa grube,
w bożym lesie grubsze.
Nie wypędzić życia z chłopa,
jak się przy nim uprze.

The same kind of psychological insight into the hero is achieved by negative parallelism, where, despite negation, the image of Nature metaphorically describes the feeling of the protagonist. Szela's dialogue with Christ, for instance, is introduced by a tetrastich:

To nie topól w niebo strzela,
to nie pohuk sowy —
Odpowiada Jakub Szela
Panu Jezusowi.

"To nie topól"—this is not a poplar, "to nie pohuk sowy"—this is not an owl hooting, this is Jakub Szela's voice. Despite the negation "to nie" (this is not), the metaphorical relation is maintained. The image of a poplar suggests straightforwardness, while the "owl's halloo" metaphorically describes Szela's angry voice. The same device of negative parallelism, formally refuting the metaphorical state in favour of the actual, is introduced in the lines preceding Christ's speech:

To nie słowo miodem tchnie z ust
jako flet z kapeli,
to skłaniając się Pan Jezus
odpowiada Szeli.

Also utilized in Słowo is grammatical parallelism, based on the recurrence of identical syntactic constructions

to connect consecutive lines or stanzas:

Weż se, Maryś, czepek nasadź,
jak nie chciałaś gęsi pasać,
jak nie chciałaś statków myć —
idźże za mąż, idźże, idź!

In a similar way Szela describes his love for Maryś. The syntactic parallelism is strengthened here by semantic parallelism. In both stanzas Szela says that Maryś has cast a spell over him:

A musiałaś ty, Maryś,
jakiś zadać czar mi,
że się niczym już, jak tobą,
głód mój nie nakarmi.

A musiałaś ty mi zadać
jakiś zdraśny napój,
że mię pali, choć go stamtąd
nożem powydrapuj.

The repetition of identical grammatical constructions, as well as the repetition of individual words and phrases, lends the poem symmetry and adds to the distinctive rhythmical pattern.

In the rhyme technique the influence of folk poetry expresses itself in the use of both inexact and compound rhymes. Słowo is overloaded with such rhymes, but they lose their original comic connotations and harmonize with the pessimistic tone of the poem. On the whole, however, Jasieński's sophisticated system of rhymes departs from the simple, often grammatical, rhymes in folklore. In this respect he preferred to manifest his virtuosity rather than follow folk tradition.

Folk stylization of Słowo o Jakubie Szeli, so evident in the sphere of stylistic devices, was assisted by linguistic means. Numerous dialecticisms, introduced into the poem, reflect the phonetic, morphological and syntactic differences between dialect and standard language. The dialect pronunciation is rendered in such words as "wideński cysarz," "po miemiecku" and "letki." Forms like "roków," "sieliśwa," "idźta" illustrate the dialect inflection. The grammatical disagreement between the subject and the verb in "choćbyście zorały," "nie słuchały chłopcy," "wyszli wilcy" reflects the dialect confusion between the masculine personal and non-masculine forms of the past tense. Most of the dialecticisms occur in direct speech. Szela and the other peasants, as one might expect, speak in dialect. But interestingly, so do the emperor and Christ. The emperor uses the dialect inflection "kazujemy chłopom przestać ferii," "dosyć leli łez," "jażem krzywdom ich nie winien," while Christ uses dialecticisms "powidźcież," "ponoć." Such subjugation of the language of all characters to the dialect transcription witnesses Jasieński's deep understanding of the peasant mentality. It is a well known fact that folklore does not differentiate individual speech and forces all persons to speak the same peasant language.

Almost all the reviews that appeared after the publication of Słowo commented on the folk influence to be

found in the poem. But at the same time the critics accused Jasieński of thematic plagiarism²¹ of new Russian poems about Razin and Pugachëv.²²

It is true that like Kamenskiĭ in Serdtsë narodnoe Sten'ka Razin (Stenka Razin: the Heart of the People) and Esenin in Pugachëv, Jasieński picked up the theme of a bloody peasant rebellion and set himself the task of rehabilitating the movement and its leader. Like Kamenskiĭ and Esenin, Jasieński intentionally departed from the historic truth and the usual literary interpretation of this event. If Esenin set his poem against Pushkin's Kapitanskaia dochka (The Captain's Daughter), Jasieński's poem was a polemic against Stanisław Wyspiański's Wesele (The Wedding) and Stefan Żeromski's Turoń.^{*} Both Wyspiański and Żeromski regarded Szela as an atrocious man who led the peasants to a fratricidal struggle. In Wesele Szela appears as a ghost repenting his sins, while in Turoń he is portrayed as the cruel leader of a bloody clash between peasants and landlords. Jasieński, on the other hand, idealizes both Szela and the rebellion. Like the Russians, he depicts his protagonist as a selfless leader with a deep sense of mission to help his fellow-men.

But thematic and ideological similarity can hardly be described as plagiarism, considering that the rebellion theme finds a different artistic realization in each poem.

*"Turoń": a Christmas mummer disguised as an animal.

Kamenskiĭ's Serdtse narodnoe is a loose conglomeration of songs and poems taken from his earlier published novel, Sten'ka Razin (1915).²³ Kamenskiĭ concentrates on the figure of Sten'ka, whose soul, the author believes, "lives in each one of us." The emphasis is on Sten'ka's artistic and passionate nature which reveals itself in the numerous "folk songs," supposedly written by him. The revolt itself is of secondary importance, being depicted only in a few crowd scenes conveying the anarchistic flavour of the movement. Esenin's Pugachëv is a lyric poem composed of a series of monologues expressing the thoughts, feelings and emotions of Pugachëv and his fellow rebels. The story of the revolt serves only as a loose frame for the lyrical outpourings and for the descriptions of nature. Słowo o Jakubie Szeli, on the other hand, is an epic poem, describing the Szela rebellion through a series of events; it has a well-defined plot and dynamic action.

If the accusation of plagiarism was certainly groundless, it is nevertheless true that Jasieński drew general inspiration from the Russian poems, and even borrowed directly.

A comparative analysis of Słowo o Jakubie Szeli and Pugachëv reveals a striking similarity of images, especially of images related to Nature. In Esenin, the image of autumn stands in the centre of the collision between Pugachëv and

his fellow rebels. In order to evoke feelings of uneasiness and of expectation of something strange, Esenin turns his attention to such elements as grey clouds, bare trees, chilled animals and birds:

Тысячу чертей, тысячу ведьм и тысячу дьяволов!
Экий дождь! Экий скверный дождь!
Скверный, скверный!
Словно вонючая моча волов.
Льется с туч на поля и деревни.
Скверный дождь!
Экий скверный дождь!
Как скелеты тощих журавлей
Стоят ошипанные вербы.²⁴

In Jasieński, autumn imagery also symbolizes the upcoming bloody events. Esenin's horrid rain that "stinks like bull's urine" is transformed into "rain that falls from a goat's udder":

Rozwichrzonych nad polem grzyw dym
kapie deszczu wymieniem koziem

And as in Pugachëv the crippled alder-tree foretells the tragic end:

Oj, ty, drogo, nieschodzona, daleka!
Oj, ty, drogo, nieschodzona, niebliska!
Cztery wierzby i olszyna-kaleka,
i na plecach ciężka nieba walizka.

Jasieński's depoetization of the moon by means of vulgar associations also derives from Esenin's poem. In Pugachëv the moon is identified with the "horse's skull," in Słowo the moon "stinks with manure." Both poets animate the moon by suggesting an analogy between the moon and a rider. In Pugachëv the moon rides a "Kirghiz carriage," in Słowo a

"gelding":

Там так медленно по небу едет луна
Поскрипывая колесами, как киргиз с повозкой.

A wieczorem-zmierzchem
jechał księżyc wierzchem
w srebrnych był sandałach,
siwy pod nim wałach.

These direct borrowings confirm the influence of Pugachëv on the poetics of Słowo.²⁵ But in addition Jasieński followed Esenin's technique in the construction of the images themselves. He intensified his tropes by means of unexpected associations and vulgar comparisons. Rain becomes "rain, all in sweat, who with his wet hands kneads the dough of the roads," the bare tree branches look like "bony fingers covered by the itch of the sparrows":

Otrute słońca bułką z zakalcem
zdychają zmierzchy pod lament wierzb.
Wychudłym drzewom kościste palce
osypał nocą wróbli świerzb.

Such elaborate tropes occur throughout the whole poem, but especially in the author's commentaries, and as in Esenin their function is to transmit the idea of the work in a vivid and new form.

It is much harder to determine the extent of Kamen-skiĭ's influence since the stylistic convergence of the poems has no confirmation in direct borrowings. The only fragment of Słowo that reminds us of Sten'ka Razin is the description of the revolt. But even here the similarity is mainly in the tone rather than in the motifs or images:

Dość chciał nam dopiec kopiec i wał —
 Hulaj, gromada, wiatrom na schwał!
 W polach odprzegaj konie od landar,
 żaden nie pośmie bruździć ci żandarm!

Hulaj, wychylaj głowy zza wnęk!
 Byli-ubyli, jechał ich sęk!
 Hola na pola orki się uczyć,
 orać karbowym, rządca nawłóczyć!

Hejże! a nuże! hala! a haj!
 Wozy z dobytkiem do zagród pchaj!
 Klamki złociste do wsi poznoścież!
 Rygle otwarte — ziemia na oścież!

K-r-r-r-r-aj!

Сарынь на кичку.
 Ядреный лапотъ,
 Чеши затылок у
 перса-пса.
 Начнем с низовья
 Хватать — царапать.
 И шкуру драть —
 парчу с купца.
 Сарынь на кичку.
 Кистень за пояс.
 В башке зудит разгул
 до дна.
 Свисти. Глуши.
 Зевай. Раздайся.
 Слепая сволочь, не
 попадайся.
 Вввва.²⁶

In these passages of the Russian and Polish poems, stylistic convergence rests on the mixture of Futurist poetics and folk stylization. In Sten'ka Razin the Futurist trend is expressed in crowd scenes where the verses are built from single words and short phrases, often merely shouts and curses. It is also in the "zaum'" songs composed of meaningless sounds, allegedly rendering the melody of a foreign language. But Kamenskiĭ also included in Sten'ka a great many bylinas and lyrical songs in the stereotyped forms of Russian folklore.

A few fragments of Słowo also witness the influence of Futurist poetics, as in this example of word economy and skilful orchestration:

Szedł śnieg. Brał mróz.
 Biegł zbieg. W mróz wrósł.
 Z ust krew — as kier.
 Znad drew mgła skier.

But on the whole, Jasieński's poem is sustained in the modes

of folklore tradition. Was the idea of the folk stylization suggested to Jasieński by Kamenski's poem? It is difficult to establish this, but even if it was, it does not diminish the great artistic value of the poem. Słowo o Jakubie Szeli is undoubtedly Jasieński's best work, and it marks a turning point, moreover, in his literary career. In it he abandons Futurism and searches for new forms of artistic expression that could adequately transmit his revolutionary ideas.

CHAPTER IV

PAŁĘ PARYŻ—A UTOPIAN NOVEL

In 1928 in the pages of the French Communist newspaper L'Humanité appeared another work by Jasieński, a novel, Je brûle Paris (I Burn Paris).¹ The title of the novel was a paraphrase of "Je brûle Moscou," a short story by Paul Morand published three years earlier, one of many anti-Soviet squibs that appeared in France in the 1920's.² Morand's story shocked Jasieński with its scoffing portrayal of Vladimir Maïakovskiï whom he considered to be the greatest twentieth-century poet. "Je brûle Moscou" was, in the opinion of Anatol Stern, "a defiance of Jasieński's ideals" and the Polish writer accepted the challenge by answering Morand's "I Burn Moscow" with I Burn Paris:

To ta właśnie nowela zrodziła w nim myśl napisania powieści, chociaż nigdzie o tym nie wspomina, mimo iż nadał swej powieści nazwę będącą odpowiedzią na demonstracyjny tytuł powieści Moranda. Na brutalne „Pałę Moskwę” odpowiedział również brutalnie „Pałę Paryż”.³

The plot of "Je brûle Moscou" centred around the erotic adventures of a French diplomat in Moscow. At one of the avant-garde theatres the protagonist meets a Russian girl who complies with the rule that "Russian women surrender at once; it is only afterwards that the difficulties begin."⁴ Vasilissa gives herself to the Frenchman the same evening

and invites him to her apartment the following day. Only there does the diplomat learn that his beloved shares the apartment with her husband, Ben Moiseevich, and a prominent "red poet," Mordecai Goldvasser. A great deal of attention is devoted to Goldvasser who around 1914 had published some poems under the influence of Apollinaire, but after the Revolution took to writing "political pieces, atheistic songs for children, patriotic hymns, odes to agricultural manure, calligrammes in the shape of the hammer and reaping hook, puffs for the state industry."⁵ Like a true artist Goldvasser is not free of neurosis, he is afraid of contamination: "this Communist cleaned every object he touched, sterilised his knife and fork, wore rubber gloves, opened doors at a height which no one could reach."⁶ It is not difficult to guess who Goldvasser represents; he is undoubtedly Vladimir Maïakovskiĭ, and the couple he shares the apartment with are Lili and Osip Briks.

Such a scoffing portrayal of Maïakovskiĭ and his relations with the Briks could not but shock Jasieński. The Polish writer was also indignant with Morand's anti-communism and anti-Semitism; "Je brûle Moscou" proclaimed the abolition of personal freedom in the Soviet Union and equated all the bolsheviks with the Jews.

Although "I Burn Moscow" could be justly described as a stimulus for Jasieński's novel, its influence was limited

to the similarity of title.⁷ There is, however, a great deal of similarity between I Burn Paris and another of Morand's stories. "La Croisade des enfants" (The Crusade of the Children) is an anti-utopian satire on the Universal Revolution, which extended the Dictatorship of the Proletariat over the whole of Europe.⁸ Like all other European states, France was turned into a Soviet Republic, but the new rulers found themselves weaponless against the local population. The reason was that French society was stripped of its children and youth, and the older generation was not susceptible to change. In order to win the remaining young people the Soviet government decided to hand France over to the children. All the high posts were filled with youngsters: an eight-year-old Armenian was nominated to the Prefecture of the North, a little Jew to the Administration of the Territories of the East, and a young Russian girl, Polia, was appointed as the Military Governor of Touraine. Polia proved to be an excellent governor until she met Mr. Garapain, an old Frenchman, who taught her how to play and amuse herself. As a result she neglected her duties; there were no more requisitions and the prisons opened. Touraine turned into a happy province where everybody played.

Thus the story conveys Morand's firm belief in the superiority and immovability of the bourgeois way of life, which would triumph over communist ideals. Morand juxtaposes

the happiness of the traditional way of life with the rigidity and strict order of the Communist Dictatorship. Morand's point of view was not acceptable to Jasieński and the Polish writer counteracted it with the idea of the inevitable end of the capitalist system. Unlike "Le Croisade des enfants," I Burn Paris offers a utopian vision of the Universal Revolution, in which a happy and just society flourishes under the rule of the proletariat.

The third literary work that influenced Jasieński was Il'ia Ėrenburg's Trest D. E. (Trust D. E.), a novel about the extermination of Europe by American capitalists.⁹ The destruction is carried out according to the plan of Ens Boot, a frustrated European who decides to take revenge on a corrupted Europe. After his arrival in the United States, Boot organizes "Trust D. E." whose task is to completely annihilate Europe. The destruction of Europe takes place gradually: first, the French army destroys Germany, then Poland and Rumania attack the Soviet Union. The remaining Russians march to Poland and bring with them an epidemic of leprosy which kills all the inhabitants of Eastern Europe. Different epidemics are also responsible for the death of all Italians, Scandinavians and Dutch. The British die of hunger. Finally, it is France's turn. There is a dramatic decrease in the birth rate, then the Revolution breaks out and all the French perish in a Civil War. By the year 1940

the population of the whole of Europe is exterminated.

Jasieński shared Ęrenburg's hatred for the mercantile European society based upon success, money and egotism, and like the Russian writer he forecast its inevitable fall. Je brûle Paris offered the spectre of a plague that would kill all the inhabitants of Paris except the proletariat. Contrary to Trest D. E., where the collapse of Europe was final, the destruction of Paris in Jasieński's novel marks the beginning of a new era under the rule of a Proletarian Commune.

The motif of the plague was probably suggested by Ęrenburg's novel. Jasieński also borrowed from Ęrenburg two family-conflict motifs. The first one is the uncle and nephew conflict, personified in Trest D. E. by the soulless French dictator, Felix Brandevo, and his nephew, a devoted Socialist. In I Burn Paris the conflict is between an American millionaire, David Lingslay, and his nephew Archie, who carries on communist propaganda in his uncle's factories. The second is the husband and wife conflict transformed by Jasieński into a conflict between Pierre and his fiancée. Both Lucy and Jeannette ask for new pairs of shoes but neither Jean nor Pierre can fulfill their requests. The first one is bankrupt, the other has lost his job and is penniless.

The similarity between I Burn Paris and Trest D. E.

goes beyond the similarity of the motifs. The resemblance is also apparent in the wealth of the adventures, the frequent use of the fantastic, and in the episodic compositions. Both novels are composed of a number of stories loosely connected with each other. Most of these stories could exist independently, abstracted from the whole. The "coupling" of all the fragments is more evident in Erenburg's novel, where the figure of the protagonist runs throughout the book. In the case of Je brûle Paris each fragment has its own set of characters, its own protagonist, and its unique plot. What unites all these stories is the motif of the plague, which divides Paris into different sectors.

The narrative of Jasieński's novel opens with the portrayal of bourgeois Paris where thousands of poor live on the streets. One of them is Pierre who, after losing his job, has joined the ranks of the beggars. In a short time Pierre learns the feeling of hunger:

. . . i cierpki posmak w ustach po raz pierwszy
przeszwarcował się do jego świadomości, długo
kołacząc do drzwi upartą, cierpliwą czkawką.
Zrozumiał i uśmiechnął się do własnej niedomyśl-
ności. Był to głód.¹⁰

Hunger is accompanied by despair caused by the loss of his girlfriend, who gave him up for richer men. Revenging himself on the people who robbed him of Jeannette, Pierre poisons the city water conduit with the plague bacillus.

The outbreak of the plague initiates the central

action of the novel—the organization of independent sectors uniting people of the same nationality or of the same political outlook. The first to organize an independent republic are the Jews, who hope that by railing themselves off from the rest of the city they will escape the plague. Their example is followed by the English and the Americans, the French Monarchists, and the Russian émigrés. The Chinese students led by P'an Tsiang-kuei take over the Latin sector and proclaim the formation of a Chinese Republic.

Although the description of each of the sectors constitutes a semi-independent story, there is a striking similarity in plot organization. First of all, the narrative always centres around the figure of the protagonist, who is either the leader of a sector, or a prominent member of the sector's administration. The protagonist is usually introduced at the beginning of the story and his short characterization is followed by flashbacks into his past. The description of the hero's past reveals the development of his character and the basic traits of his personality. Sometimes the flashbacks into the past are rather brief; other portrayals—those of Boris Solomin and P'an—develop into independent stories. The description of the childhood of P'an resembles a didactic children's story, showing the hero's development into an active revolutionary. The story of Solomin, on the other hand, reminds one of a film script.

When Boris recollects his own life he is struck by its similarity to the typical trite movie, and the analogy is emphasized by the form, which imitates a film script:

Syn oficera sztabowego. Po mamie — majątek pod Moskwą. Dzieciństwo (zazwyczaj pokazuje się to w prologu): kosztowne zabawki, guwernerzy i guwernantki. Chłopiństwo: gimnazjum, książki i marki. Latem na wsi — na kaczkach. Pierwsze uciechy miłosne. Przeważnie dziewczki folwarczne pod kierownictwem doświadczanego ekonoma. I wszystko inne jak się należy.

Uniwersytet. "Moskwa w nocy". Wypełnianie luk w edukacji erotycznej. I naraz, w najbardziej pikantnym, rzecz by można, momencie — mobilizacja.
(p. 151)

If flashbacks into the past serve as a means of direct characterization of the protagonist, present actions provide the means of indirect characterization. All the protagonists play a decisive role in present events; they organize the sectors and direct the fight against the plague.

The Jews attempt to conquer the epidemic by following the Rabbi's interpretation of Biblical precepts. At first the Rabbi orders them to abolish the traditional burial procedures and to leave the houses struck by the plague. When this does not help, he recommends that the Jewish sector be cordoned off from the rest of the city. Finally, he decides to follow the example of Moses and remove the Jewish people to the Promised Land. His plan involves bribing the French military cordon, chartering a ship, and getting the help of an influential American millionaire who is to persuade the coast guards to allow the ship to dock in

one of the American harbours.

All the efforts of the White Russian Republic are directed towards the recovery of the members of the Soviet Mission captured by the French Monarchists. The Russian émigrés are filled with thoughts of vengeance for all the offences of the bolsheviks. The recovery of the Soviet diplomats proves very disappointing, however, since they are all infected with the plague.

In their struggle for survival, the Chinese conform to the strictest rules; they kill all the infected as well as the people who hide them. At the same time they establish a research laboratory, where bacteriologists work twenty-four hours a day to produce a serum against the plague. But the epidemic spreads wildly and P'an himself catches the infection. Faithful to his own ruthless decree he shoots himself.

The same fate awaits all the other protagonists. Boris Solomin dies when, in a drunken state, he boards the truck with the infected bolsheviks. David Lingslay and Rabbi Eleasar are killed by missiles from the American coast guard. Lingslay, who at first collaborated with the Jewish plot, sends a cable to the American authorities warning them about the true nature of the coming ship. The death of the protagonists signifies the collapse of all the Republics. By the first of September, there is not a single person left

on the territories of the ten republics.

At first, the destruction of Paris seems final, but soon the reader learns that not all the city's inhabitants were killed by the epidemic. The plague spared the prisoners, who used a different water system. The ex-prisoners organize a Proletarian Commune, but continue to inform the rest of the world about the increase of the epidemic and the fights between the different sectors of the city. The existence of the Commune is discovered incidentally when a lost American pilot sees a perfectly functioning city with a great number of radio towers and with fields of ripening wheat. When the Western governments decide to attack the Commune, their workers declare themselves on the side of the Parisian proletariat. The Proletarian Commune initiates a world-wide revolution that establishes the rule of the proletariat. Thus the novel proclaims the inevitable end of the capitalist system and the coming of a new era. Paris, the symbol of Western bourgeois society, has to be destroyed so that the workers may build a new world.

Although it might seem inconsistent, this univocal political ideology is transmitted by an elaborate system of artistic devices. First of all there is a constant "estrangement" of the presented reality. "Estrangement" (ostranenie) is, according to Victor Shklovskii, the essence of art, which tears the object out of its habitual context, and

presents it as if it were seen for the first time. Our perception of reality, argued Shklovskii in "Iskusstvo kak priëm," is based on a chain of habitual associations and automatic responses. The task of art is to break this automatic perception by presenting the habitual in a novel light, by placing it in an unexpected context. Only then will we be able to "see" things instead of merely recognizing them.¹¹

Pałę Paryż abounds in passages where the author "refuses to recognize" familiar objects and describes them as if they were seen for the first time. Here is the description of a city in which tall buildings are "many-storeyed boxes in which smaller mobile boxes run up and down to transport the tenants to the highest floors in a second":

Gdzieś, o wiele, wiele li, stoją olbrzymie, potworne miasta, gdzie biali ludzie mieszkają w wielopiętrowych skrzyniach i w skrzyniach tych, zamiast schodów, w górę i w dół pędzą ruchome pudełeczka, podrzucając w jednej chwili mieszkańców na najwyższe piętra.
(p. 76)

On the streets there run "glass wagons" and "queer carriages" that move without rails, without horses, just by touching a mysterious "sticking-in-the-air wheel":

Po szynach mknęły szklane wagony i w powietrzu rozbrzmiewał nie milknący ani na chwilę huk. Dziwniejsze od domów, dziwniejsze od wagonów były niesamowite kolaski, pędzące ulicami, bez szyn, bez koni, bez rykszów, za poruszeniem nie dotykającego ziemi, niepojętego, sterczącego w powietrzu koła.
(pp. 73-74)

Significantly, the "estrangement" is motivated by

Jasieński in terms of verisimilitude and psychological plausibility. In the passages quoted above, Jasieński reproduces the perception of a small Chinese boy whose vision has not been spoiled by automatic responses. Many objects are "made strange" thanks to P'an's perception of the world. A car is for him a "queer carriage" whose name is "Auto Mo-Bile" and who has a surname like "Bra-Sey," "Dai-Mler," "Re-Nault," or "Mer Ce-Des." When he first sees the calligraphs, he thinks of gymnasts making a pyramid:

Pałeczki rosły, rozgałęziały się, łączyły w misterne figury, litera podpełzała pod literę i podnosiła ją na barach jak akrobata, za chwilę wystrzelała już w górę równa, chybotliwa piramida. (p. 71)

As the years go by, P'an stops being amazed by the objects of the surrounding reality, and begins to wonder at different ideologies. After being accepted at an orphanage he is introduced to Christianity. At the sight of a "flat piece with three corners and with a small naked man nailed to it" he concludes that that must be the way the white people punish thieves. In a short period of time he learns that the man nailed to the wood is God who came to Earth to suffer for all people. P'an is sceptical: "why should a white man, even if he is God, suffer for the Chinese?" His interpretation of Christianity is quite different from what he is taught:

Nie, nie spodobał się P'anowi ten potulny bóg. Najwidoczniej przekupili go bogacze i cesarze, żeby namawiał lud do posłuszeństwa. I bić mógł się z

pewnością dawać dla przykładu, ile dusza zapragnie. Przecież, skoro to naprawdę bóg, to go nie bolało. I umierać na pewno mógł, ile razy mu się podoba. Nie, nie można wierzyć takiemu bogu. Taki bóg — to oszust. (p. 85)

The same device of "making it strange" is used by Jasieński in the description of socialism. When P'an reads about the "heresy of socialism," he draws an analogy between socialists and early Christians:

Są ludzie, sekta, którzy zechcieli wszystko mierzyć pracą. Zasada, jak u świętego Pawła: „Kto nie pracuje, niechaj nie je”. Odebrać bogactwa wszystkim bogaczom i uczynić je własnością powszechną. Zniósłszy własność prywatną wydzielać każdemu wedle jego pracy. (p. 90)

The presentation of the child's innocent vision of the world is one of the methods of "ostranienie" employed in Palę Paryż. Another one is the metaphorical description of the surrounding reality, in which familiar objects are transferred into a new sphere of perception. This type of "estrangement" abounds in the opening chapter, depicting the city landscape. Here is a picture of Paris flooded with rain:

Nad wieczorem lunął deszcz i pod chluszczącymi strumieniami wody twarde kontury przedmiotów zafalowały łagodnie, wydłużając się w głąb, jak zanurzone w wartkim, przeźroczystym nurcie. . . .

Szerokim wąwozem łożyska, z szumem elastycznych łusek opon płynęły stłoczone stada dziwacznych żelaznych ryb o ognistych, wybałuszonych ślepiach, ocierając się o siebie pożądliwie bokami w obłokach błękitnawej ikry benzyny.

Wzdłuż stromych brzegów, poruszając się z wysiłkiem, jak nurkowie w przeźroczystej galarecie, brnęli ołowianostopi ludzie pod ciężkimi skafandrami parasoli. (p. 14)

The rain transforms the city streets into rivers, full of "huge, iron fish with burning eyes." People walking on the "shady, steep banks" resemble divers, because of their clumsy movements and their "umbrella helmets."

In general, the city resembles the sea; its noise and constant movement recall the rise and fall of the tide:

Miasto huczało po dawnemu w swoich wiecznych przypływach i odpływach. (p. 29)

Pewnego wieczora nagły przypływ wyrzucił go z bulwarów na Montmartre i cisnął nim o oszklony przedsionek wielkiego music-hallu. (p. 30)

Like the waves of the sea, the crowd carries away helpless individuals. This happens to Pierre on the fourteenth of July when Paris celebrates the anniversary of the Great French Revolution:

Napływający tłum zepchnął go na jezdnię, napływające auta odrzuciły go na wątlą kamienistą wysepkę, . . . (p. 40)

Ciepłe fale zmyły go jak drzazgę i poniosły, bez busoli na oślep. (p. 41)

On the whole, the metaphoric system of Pałę Paryż is sustained in the same Futurist tradition that determined Jasieński's early poetry. Jasieński emphasizes the hostility of the city by equating it with a jungle where "savages bury their spears in the hearts of the lanterns," and where the pavement is made of the "scalped skulls of the crowd buried alive":

Nagi, chropowaty bruk — łyse, oskalpowane czaszki
żywcem zakopanego tłumu — spotkają je długim

krzykiem-łomotem, podawanym z ust do ust przez nie kończącą się nigdzie długość wyobraźalnej ulicy. Trotuarami przebiegną czarni ludzie z długimi włóczniami, zanurzając ich ostrza w drgające jak płomyk serca latarni. (p. 13)

As in his earlier poetry, Jasieński "degrades" Nature by means of appropriate prosaic associations. Thus the sky is described as "an American flag with stars as the stars," or as white space "licked by the tongues of searchlights." Nature is often endowed with animal features; the rain "touches Pierre's face with its wet paw," while the raindrops are identified with "the cold spray falling down from the Great Bear, when she shakes her fur after her evening bath":

Nad lodowatym basenem nieba Wielka Niedźwiedzica
otrzepywała swą połyskliwą sierść po wieczornej
kąpieli i chłodne bryzgi leciały na ziemię. (p. 28)

The last metaphor is based on a play on the two meanings of the words "Wielka Niedźwiedzica," as a female bear, and as the name of a constellation.

Although most of the metaphors introduced into Pale Paryż describe the urban landscape, there are also metaphors that serve as a means of characterizing the protagonists. The portrayal of Rabbi Eleasar, for instance, is based on an analogy with a flat-fish. Like the flat-fish whose eyes look upwards, the Rabbi always looks towards the sky. He sees many things not perceived by ordinary humans, but misses the simplest things on earth:

Rabi Eleazar ben Cwi ma swoje osadzone blisko
siebie oczu i oczy patrzą zawsze w górę, beznamietne,

małeńkie, bliźniacze, obrócone ku niebu, w którym zdają się widzieć jakieś dla nich tylko dostrzegalne rzeczy. Od nieużywania organu organ zanika. Rabi Eleazar ben Cwi widzi wiele rzeczy niedostępnych ludzkiemu wzrokowi, a nie widzi tych najprostszych; ma tylko jedną stronę — tę, zwróconą do nieba, a tej obróconej ku ziemi — w ogóle nie ma. (p. 126)

A series of metaphors about fear depicts the feelings and the inner state of David Lingslay. Every morning he wakes up with the animal-like fear that he has caught the plague. The fear, like a released spring, "jumps to his throat, and has to be pushed by the fist into its closet":

Co dzień budził się z tym instynktownym strachem zdrowego, muskularnego ciała, przeczuwającego w zwierzęcym lęku chwilę, w której pewnego ranka, obudzi go gryzący ból w dole brzucha. . . .

. . . jak odprężona sprężyna ciskał mu się do gardła strach, który wciskać trzeba było dopiero pięścią do jego komórki, gdzie przyczajony przebywał aż do następnego rana. (p. 137)

The fear is so strong that it causes a peculiar split of personality: on the one hand, a forty-year-old man, governed by animal instincts, on the other, Mr. Lingslay, obedient to the accepted rules of behaviour. The sober and logical Mr. Lingslay accepts his fate, while the forty-year-old man "bristles up," and "gives a long howl like an animal looking for something to hang on to":

Czuł coś czarnego, śliskiego, oblepiającego mu już członki i ryczał przeciągle jak zwierzę, póki mister Dawid Lingslay nie zatkał mu ręką ust. (p. 229)

Czterdziestoletni pan nie był w stanie rywalizować z logiką wywodów mistera Dawida Lingslaya i głuchym, zwierzęcym instynktem szukać zaczął kurczowo czegoś, o co można by się zaczepić, jak mięczak czujący

zbliżanie się fali, która go zmyje, szuka gorączkowo występu, chropowatości skały, aby do niej przylgnąć i przetrwać. (p. 232)

Elsewhere metaphors create more complex characters. The desperate situation of a jobless Pierre is emphasized by a number of metaphors about hunger. When Pierre begins to feel hunger he compares it to "a dog charging at the door of his mind and scraping at it with its paw." Later on when he is completely beset by hunger, he thinks of hunger as building a nest in the cords of his guts:

Cierpki, cierpliwy głód, warujący daremnie u drzwi świadomości począł psim zwyczajem skrobać w nie łapą. (p. 21)

W powrozach wnętrzości, jak mewa w poplątanym olinowaniu opuszczonego statku, utkwiał sobie gniazdo stary, zadomowiony głód, nie opuszczając go ani na chwilę. (p. 41)

Jasieński conveys Pierre's feelings of isolation and complete disorientation by metaphors that describe the actual working of his mind. His thoughts are "tangled and winding like the city streets on which he roams":

Myśli kłębiły się zawikłane i kręte, jak uliczki, po których teraz błądził. (p. 23)

Ospałe myśli, wałęsające się po powierzchni leniwe podmuchy, przemykały obok tego miejsca instynktownie na palcach, jakby obawiały się trafić w próżnię. (p. 46)

In his description of the desperate thoughts of his protagonist, Jasieński is close to Knut Hamsun's treatment of the hunger theme in Sult (Hunger).¹² Centring around the psychological experiences of a young writer practically

starving to death, Sult portrays all the phases of hunger, from its first symptoms to eventual hallucinations. In comparison with Jasieński, Hamsun is more naturalistic in his description of hunger; he stresses the physical sensations of a starving person: "Hunger put in its appearance afresh, gnawed at my breast, clutched me, and gave small, sharp stabs that caused me pain."¹³

Moreover, Hamsun is not interested in the social aspect of hunger, but its effects on the psychology. Sult abounds in passages describing the protagonist's mind, some of them similar to those in Pale Paryż. Jasieński's metaphor of Pierre's "dim and feverish thoughts that fly away like flushed pigeons, leaving a complete emptiness and a flapping of wings in his temples" corresponds to Hamsun's "whenever I had been hungry for any length of time it was just as if my brains ran quite gently out of my head and left me with a vacuum" or "I felt a scorching heat in my head, and something pulsed in my temples."¹⁴

There is also some similarity in the erotic description of city life which illustrates the hostility of the city towards the protagonists. In Sult the protagonist is appalled by the sensual laughter, panting breaths, which turn Carl Johann Street into "a swamp, from which hot vapours exuded."¹⁵ In Pale Paryż the whole of Paris turns into a sexual orgy. The cars resemble rutting dogs; the

stars look like "the advertising lights of sky motels, inviting lost souls longing for love":

Przez dziury w płachcie widział nad sobą gwiazdy mrugające w górze, zapalające się i gasnące na przemian za pociśnięciem niewidzialnego kontaktu, jak reklamy odległych niebiańskich hotelików przywołujących w swe bramy spragnione miłości parki zbłąkanych w przestrzeni dusz. (p. 42)

Surprisingly, the Soviet literary critics excused the formalism of Jasieński's artistic devices on account of "the ideological clarity of the content." Pałę Paryż was praised for its "exposure of the capitalist world which showed the necessity of political struggle":

В целом же роман свидетельствует, что Ясенский овладел средствами техники передового буржуазного искусства, и в той мере, в какой его роман выполнил задачу отрицательную, задачу художественного обличения капиталистического Парижа, успех Ясенского значителен.¹⁶

The chief objections concerned the unperceptive portrayal of the working class. The reviewers criticized Jasieński for the unjustified isolation of Pierre from the rest of the workers, as well as for "schematism in the depiction of the proletarian collective":

События даются в представлении пролетария, почти деклассированного, выброшенного безработицей на улицу Парижа, в этом один из недостатков вещи, переломление событий в сознании рабочего коллектива значительно увеличило бы ценность книги.¹⁷

Far more critical of the book were the Polish leftist critics who considered Pałę Paryż "an attempt to indoctrinate the proletariat with foreign ideology":

"Palę Paryż" to wyraźne zboczenie, to próba wniesienia do środowiska proletariackiego zupełnie mu obcej i wrogiej ideologii apokaliptyczno-moralizatorskiej.¹⁸

Such was the opinion of Jan Wolski, who drew an analogy between Palę Paryż and the Biblical Apocalypse, equating Paris with Babylon, the plague with the pestilence sent by God, communists with the chosen people. He concluded that Jasieński's book was a warning to the bourgeoisie against coming disasters:

Zamierzona była ponoć powieść rewolucyjna, wyszła zaś z warsztatu literackiego powieść apokaliptyczna, nadająca się bardzo dobrze do tego, aby burżuazja potraktowała ją jako moralizatorskie ostrzeżenie przed grożącymi jej klęskami.¹⁹

Under the influence of such criticism Jasieński decided to correct the ideological shortcomings of his novel and in 1934 published a new, revised version of Îa zhgu Parizh.²⁰ He accepted the Marxist belief that fiction is bound to reflect the rules that govern objective reality, and subordinated the material of I Burn Paris to the Marxist interpretation of the class struggle.

The most drastic changes involved the plot of the novel. First of all, Jasieński revised the plague motif. If in the original publication the plague was started by a desperate individual, in the second version it was spread by the French government, which did not hesitate to use the most drastic measures to strangle the revolution. In the 1934 version Pierre becomes a blind instrument of the

government; he is not even aware of the contents of the test tubes which he is ordered to empty into the aqueduct. The meaning of this transformation is obvious: the true perpetrator of the plague proves to be the bourgeoisie and not the worker. The revolution does not begin with the revolt of an individual but is a result of the class struggle.

The second major change involves the origin of the Commune. In the first version, the Commune is established by the ex-prisoners, who escaped the plague by using a different aqueduct. The choice of the prisoners as the builders of the Commune carried the risk of a vicious interpretation—the identification of the revolution with the revolt of criminals. In order to avoid such an interpretation Jasieński excluded the prisoners and depicted the Commune as the work of the proletariat guided by the Communist party.

The same consideration for ideological clarity brought Jasieński to revise the characterization of some of the protagonists. In the case of P'an, Jasieński excluded the racist attitude towards the whites. According to the original, P'an issues a decree to exterminate all whites as carriers of the disease. In the new version, this rule applies only to the white Fascists, while the rest of the white population is allowed to stay in the Chinese Republic.

Along with the major changes of plot, the second

version contains a number of new details which bring the action of the novel closer to contemporary events. This includes some references to the Fascist ideology, the secret deals of Western governments, the role of the French newspaper L'Humanité, and others.

On the whole, the second version is inferior to the first. The changes made because of purely political considerations often weaken the artistic effect. The plot of the 1934 version develops so straightforwardly that from the beginning it is obvious who the characters are and what will be the outcome of the story. The second version contains an unnecessary second prologue which tells the reader what is going to happen. The artistic effect is also weakened by the exclusion of many metaphoric descriptions and passages that "estranged" reality and added to the novel's unique and original style.

Pale Paryż was Jasieński's first novel completely subordinated to the task of political propaganda. Jasieński himself wrote in his autobiography:

Все острее ощущаемая потребность принимать активное участие в разворачивающихся вокруг классовых боях посредством неотразимого оружия художественного слова заставила меня забросить стихи и сесть за прозу. Результатом трехмесячной работы и явилось мое первое прозаическое произведение — роман "Я жгу Париж".

Here Jasieński claimed that Pale Paryż was his first prose work, while in fact it was preceded by Nogi Izoldy Morgan,

a story published in 1923.²² Jasieński's "renunciation" of Nogi reflected his new attitude towards literature. By 1931 he had become convinced that literature had to serve utilitarian tasks, and since Nogi was free of any social or political issues, he simply "forgot" to mention it.

Nevertheless, Nogi Izoldy Morgan was an important work in Jasieński's literary career. It witnesses his definite break with Futurism. In it he indicates his disapproval of the Futurist cult of technology by showing how the materialistic world disintegrates under the impact of an explosive thought or experience. Engineer Berg begins as a devoted admirer of the machine, but eventually he comes to fear it. The cult of the machine leads to insanity.

As Edward Balcerzan pointed out, in Nogi Jasieński criticized Futurism from the perspective of Expressionism. Expressionism provided him with an opposing ideology that allowed him to "annihilate" Futurism. But while criticizing Futurism from the perspective of Expressionism, Jasieński did not declare himself in favour of the latter. He simply showed that the antinomy between the two was not absolute—mysticism and insanity, the integral elements of Expressionism, also live in the Futurist ideology.²³

Expressionism left an impact not only on Nogi Izoldy Morgan but also on Jasieński's later works, especially on Bal manekenov and "Nos." Like Nogi, they are based on the

grotesque deformation of reality, and play with absurdity. But now the grotesque is subordinated to didactic purposes. As befits a Socialist Realist, Jasieński uses literature as "a weapon of the class struggle."

CHAPTER V

JASIEŃSKI AND SOVIET LITERARY LIFE 1929-1934

Jasieński arrived in the Soviet Union in the middle of 1929, at the time when many of the literary groups that had come into being during the 1920's still existed, but were being gradually absorbed by the powerful RAPP, the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers.¹ Claiming to be an organization that "carried out a line in literature closest to the line of the Party,"² RAPP had assumed leadership of the whole proletarian movement and had laid down policy for the whole of Soviet literature.

Applying the principles of dialectical materialism to literature, the RAPP critics insisted that realism was the literary expression of materialist philosophy, and that the dialectical requirements meant that life had to be shown in movement. Literature was required to objectively portray reality and to reveal the inherent contradictions in society and in man himself. The writers had to comprehend the world from the point of view of the proletariat and to influence the reader in accordance with the tasks of the working class:

Пролетарской, мы считаем, литературу, познающую мир с точки зрения пролетариата и воздействующую на читателей в соответствии с задачами рабочего класса . . . Только с точки зрения мировоззрения пролетариата — марксизма — может быть с максимальной

объективностью познана художником социальная действительность.³

The most important task of Soviet literature, according to the RAPP critics, was to aid the proletariat in the building of socialism. At a time when Soviet society was working on the First Five-Year Plan, the role of the artist was to help raise mass consciousness and to mobilize the masses for socialist construction. The RAPP critics advocated the theory of "social command," understood as specific assignments to be executed by writers, who were urged to go to industrial construction sites and to collective farms, and to describe them in factual sketches or novels.⁴ The new literature had to reflect all aspects of the Five-Year Plan—the industrialization, the collectivization, but above all the formation of the new man. The depiction of the "living man" became the top priority for Soviet writers. Literature was expected to show the complex human psychology, with its contradictions and conflicts, instead of the schematic portrayal of stereotyped human characters. Since the "living man" was considered a complex of contradictory qualities, the task of the new literature was to reflect both the good and the bad sides of his character. The writers were urged to "tear off the masks"⁵ from the bad in man and to reveal the "old" psychology that still existed in the new men. The slogan of "tearing off the masks" encouraged the writers to show not only the achievements but also

the shortcomings of the new Soviet society.

The slogans of "social command," "for the living man," and "to tear off the masks" were devised in order to guide and inspire the proletarian writers, but in a short while they became the aesthetic criteria used by the RAPP critics in evaluating the whole of Soviet literature. The writers who subscribed to RAPP theory were praised and glorified, while those who did not were denounced as "counter-revolutionaries," "class enemies," and "traitors." In 1931 RAPP put forward a slogan "ally or enemy," suggesting that neutrality and non-political views in an author were a mere excuse for evading active participation in the construction of socialism. The fellow-travellers⁶ were given an ultimatum to join RAPP or to be classified as enemies:

Но во всяком случае только две возможности стоят перед попутчиками: или союзник или враг.⁷

RAPP's clannishness and intolerance towards outsiders and especially towards fellow-travellers were the main reasons for the liquidation of RAPP by the Decree of April 23, 1932. While recognizing RAPP's important contribution to the development of Soviet literature at a time when literature was still under the influence of certain alien elements, the Central Committee of the CPSU decided that "now that the cadres of proletarian literature have had time to grow, and the new writers have come forward from factories, plants, and collective farms, the framework of the

existing literary organizations has become too narrow and holds back the serious growth of literary creation." The Central Committee resolved to liquidate the Association of Proletarian Writers and to unite all Soviet writers into a single Union of Soviet Writers:

В настоящее время, когда успели уже вырасти кадры пролетарской литературы и искусства, выдвинулись новые писатели и художники с заводов, фабрик, колхозов, рамки существующих литературно-художественных организаций (ВОАПП, РАПП, РАМП, и др.) становятся уже узкими и тормозят серьезный размах художественного творчества.⁸

The task of working out practical measures for creating the Union of Soviet Writers was entrusted to the Organizing Committee, whose members represented various creative groups and movements, with Maxim Gorkiĭ as honorary chairman. The Orgcommittee initiated a long and heated discussion on the character of the future Union and on the method of Soviet literature, which culminated in the First Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow in August 1934. The Congress officially accepted Socialist Realism as a method of Soviet literature and defined it as "a truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development":

Социалистический реализм, являясь основным методом советской художественной литературы и литературной критики, требует от художника правдивого, исторически-правдивого изображения действительности в ее революционном развитии.⁹

Such a definition was suggested by A. A. Zhdanov, the chief

Party spokesman at the Congress. Zhdanov stressed in his speech that the Soviet writer has "to know life in order to depict it truthfully in works of art, to depict it not scholastically, not lifelessly, not just as 'objective reality,' but to depict real life in its revolutionary development":

Это значит, во первых, знать жизнь, чтобы уметь ее правдиво изобразить в художественных произведениях, изобразить не схоластически, не мертво, не просто как "объективную реальность", а изобразить действительность в ее революционном развитии.¹⁰

Truthfulness and historical concreteness of artistic depiction, continued Zhdanov, must be combined with the task of ideological remoulding and reeducation of the working people in the spirit of socialism:

При этом правдивость и историческая конкретность художественного изображения должны сочетаться с задачей идейной перделки и воспитания трудящихся людей в духе социализма.¹¹

The basic requirements of Socialist Realism were reflected in the term itself, combining the literary concept "realism" with a political term "socialist." The choice of realism as the artistic method for Soviet literature was determined by the Marxist premise that the prime function of art is the cognition of reality. The task of literature was the truthful depiction of reality, based on the principles of verisimilitude and probability. But what was more important, literature had to reflect the contradictions of social development and the future directions of its evolution.

This last requirement was enclosed in the concept of "typicality" taken from Engels' definition of realism: "Realism, to my mind, implies, besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances."¹²

If "realism" in "Socialist Realism" stood for the truthful depiction of reality, the adjective "socialist" implied the necessity of the critical evaluation of reality, and of the expression of the interests of the working people.¹³ Soviet literature had to be tendentious, argued Zhdanov, since this tendency would "liberate the workers and the whole of mankind from the yoke of capitalist slavery":

Да, наша литература тенденциозна, и мы гордимся ее тенденциозностью, потому что наша тенденция заключается в том, чтобы освободить трудящихся, все человечество от ига капиталистического рабства.¹⁴

* * * * *

Jasieński was not an indifferent observer of all that was happening in Soviet cultural and literary life during the years 1929-1934. Immediately after his arrival in the Soviet Union, he became actively involved in political and organizational work. Without any hesitation he joined the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers and was elected to the Secretariat of the Moscow section. When in 1931 RAPP established Proletarskaia literatura, a new journal devoted to the problems of Marxist literary theory and criticism,

Jasieński became a member of its editorial board.¹⁵ But Jasieński's most fruitful association with RAPP was his work in the International Section, called MORP (Mezhdunarodnoe Ob"edinenie Revoliutsionnykh Pisatelei).¹⁶

At first, Jasieński cooperated with the Polish section, and was in charge of its periodical Kultura Mas, whose task was to involve the Polish minority living in the U.S.S.R. in the creation of a new proletarian literature.¹⁷ Kultura Mas was to educate the young Polish workers and peasants to become conscious proletarian writers. The periodical published the best works of the young writers and offered friendly criticism of their defects and shortcomings, especially of any language containing Russicisms or ungrammatical expressions.¹⁸ Kultura Mas devoted much attention to the development of Polish literature in Poland; it praised works expressing "progressive ideas," and exposed the Fascist ideology in others. While working as the editor of Kultura Mas, Jasieński often expressed his scepticism as to the possibility of the formation of a Polish proletarian literature in the Soviet Union. He believed that true Polish proletarian literature could be created only in Poland itself, not abroad. His views were considered reactionary and "national-opportunistic,"¹⁹ and in 1930 he was replaced by Jan Nejman.

Jasieński's departure from Kultura Mas coincided with

his taking over the post of chief editor of Literatura mirovoï revoliutsii, an official organ of MORP, established at the Second Conference of Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov in November 1930. During its two years of existence, Literatura mirovoï revoliutsii proved itself an orthodox executor of the MORP policy. It accepted for publication only the works of so-called "proletarian" writers, above all, those dealing with certain "proletarian" themes, such as the life of the workers, episodes of the class struggle, the gloomy existence of the jobless.²⁰ The editors were always eager to emphasize the proletarian origin of the published authors and the social meaning of their works. Most of its critical articles dealt with proletarian literature in different countries and with the way many "progressive" writers had eventually become proletarian.²¹ The periodical also repeatedly criticized Le Monde and its chief editor Henri Barbusse. One of the severest critics of Le Monde was Bruno Jasieński himself, who was convinced that the French newspaper had changed "from a bastion of revolutionary thought into a petty bourgeois auction of ideas." In an editorial, under the characteristic title "Po naklonnoï ploskosti" (On an Inclined Plane), Jasieński wrote:

Увлекаясь иллюзией замаскированного воздействия на мелкобуржуазную интеллигенцию Запада, Мوند незаметно сам стал объектом воздействия со стороны мелкобуржуазной стихии, из бастиона революционной мысли он превратился в мелкобуржуазный аукцион идей.²²

The aggressive tone of Jasieński's article reflected the typical MORP tendency to criticize ruthlessly any deviations from their general policy for international proletarian literature. Like RAPP, MORP had assumed dictatorial powers and had laid down the policy which all proletarian writers had to follow. After the disbanding of all literary organizations by the Decree of April 23, 1932, Bruno Jasieński self-critically spoke of a special "MORP-ish clannishness which in some respects had been possibly stronger than that of RAPP."²³

Jasieński's involvement in political and organizational life did not leave him too much time for creative writing. Besides, he needed some time to learn about Soviet life and to overcome the language problem.²⁴ After three years in the Soviet Union he published his first Russian work, a play Bal manekenov (The Ball of Mannequins), followed by a novel Chelovek meniaet kozhu (Man Changes his Skin). If the first work was a pungent satire on capitalist society, the latter glorified the building of socialism in Soviet Tadzhikistan. Chelovek meniaet kozhu was one of the first novels to depict the economic transformation taking place in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1930's.

CHAPTER VI

CHELOVEK MENIAET KOZHU AND THE INDUSTRIAL NOVEL

At the beginning of the 1930's in the Soviet Union appeared a great number of novels depicting the construction of new industrial projects. Responding to the RAPP slogan "Literature should help the Five-Year Plan," many Soviet writers had joined different construction projects, and offered literary accounts of the country's industrial achievements. In 1931 Margarita Shaginiĭan published her novel Gidrotsentral' (The Hydroelectric Plant), having first worked for two years at the construction of the Mizinges Hydro-station. In 1932 in the pages of Novyĭ mir appeared Fëdor Gladkov's Ėnergiĭa (Power), the story of the construction of the Dneproostroĭ Dam. The same year saw the publication of Valentin Kataev's Vremĭa, vperëd! (Time, Forward!), and of Il'ĭa Ėrenburg's Den' vtoroĭ (The Second Day). Both authors glorified the work of the industrial plants they visited, Kataev the Magnitostroĭ Chemical Combine, Ėrenburg the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant.

The early Soviet industrial novel developed under the influence of two Western authors, Pierre Hamp and Bernhard Kellermann. Pierre Hamp (1876-1962), a French novelist, followed Zola's literary techniques, as well as his social

concerns. Between the years 1909 and 1922 he wrote several novels, combined in a series La Peine des hommes (Human Drudgery). Most of them were translated into Russian in the middle of the 1920's,¹ arousing the admiration of Soviet critics who called upon the proletarian writers "to learn from Hamp." Hamp fascinated them with his choice of themes and his restriction of the plot to the technology of different types of industry. In Le Vin de Champagne he depicted the French wine industry, in Le Lin textile manufacturing. Le Rail described the details of railway transportation and the job and the daily problems of railroaders. Le Cantique des cantiques offered a literary account of the perfume industry. In all these novels the emphasis was placed on the description of the production and technological processes characteristic of the given type of industry. The technical data were incorporated into the narrative in the form of statistics, technical calculations and tables.

The second writer who influenced the development of the Soviet industrial novel was Bernhard Kellermann (1879-1951), author of Der Tunnel, a science-fiction novel praising creative labour that allows the realization of the most daring plans.² The plot of the novel centres around the construction of a Trans-Atlantic tunnel which would connect America with Europe. The tunnel is being built by masses of people under the supervision of Mac Allan, an engineering

genius. The climax of the novel is the catastrophe which kills many workers and delays the completion of the project. But Der Tunnel ends on an optimistic note: the tunnel is completed and its official opening is witnessed by crowds of people.

Following the tradition established by Hamp and Kellermann, the Soviet industrial novelists constructed their plots around the description of construction projects or technological processes. Technical matter plays a major role in the plot of Vremîa, vperëd! which is essentially a chronicle of the breaking of a world record for concrete mixing. A detailed description of the technology of pouring cement is incorporated into the narrative. Kataev not only informs his reader about the general technology of concrete mixing, but also acquaints him with the latest achievements in this field. He goes as far as inserting an authentic, highly specialized article dealing with the production of high-grade concrete:

Необходимо учесть, что при непродолжительном перемешивании пластичность бетона получается меньшая, и потому бетон менее удобен для работы. Правда, нужную пластичность можно получить добавлением воды, но как известно, это сильно понижает прочность бетона (добавление 10% воды в среднем понижает прочность бетона на 10%). При перемешивании в течение 15 секунд вместо одной минуты прочность бетона понижается на 20% и больше, при 30 секунд — на 10% и больше.³

Like a typical industrial novel, Vremîa, vperëd! depicts the work of the collective, rather than of the

individual. The image of the collective, selflessly working in the most appalling conditions, appeared in every industrial novel written at the beginning of the 1930's. As in Der Tunnel, Nature is the antagonist against whom the workers must struggle. The taiga, the steppe and the rivers resist men, and their opposition comes in the form of floods, gales or extreme cold. The image of the flood, endangering construction, appears in Sot', Gidrotsentral', and Den' vtoroi. In Den' vtoroi the river returns to its old bed and endangers the dam. Even stronger is the resistance of the taiga:

Тайга была упряма: она не подпускала людей. Она смыкалась глухой стеной. Навстречу пришельцам она швыряла гигантские стволы. Она вцеплялась в них кустарником. Она слала в разведку быстрые потоки, и эти потоки сносили все. Зимой тайгу сторожил снег, летом — машкара. Тайга чувствовала, что люди хотят ее уничтожить, и она не сдавалась.⁴

"The taiga was obstinate," writes Erenburg, "it withstood mankind . . . But more obstinate than the taiga were men." The work at the Kuznet'sk Plant continues at fifty below zero when metal burns the fingers. The people are dropping from exhaustion, but they continue building.

Since the work at the industrial projects is a struggle with Nature, the writers tend to depict it as a military battle. Like Kellermann, the Soviet novelists portray the construction as a front line, where workers "fight" for higher industrial tempos. "People were living

as they did during the war," writes Il'iâ Erenburg in Den' vtoroi:

Они взрывали камень, рубили лес и стояли по пояс в ледяной воде, укрепляя плотину. Каждое утро газета печатала сводки о победах и о прорывах, о пуске домны, о новых залежах руды, о подземном туннеле, о мощи моргановского крана. Они устанавливали новые рекорды, и в больницах они лежали молча с отмороженными конечностями.⁵

At this point the similarities between the Soviet industrial novel and its Western counterpart end. The basic difference lies in the replacement of the glorification of technological progress by the apotheosis of labour under socialism. The Soviet writers stress the educational value of labour, which transforms workers into conscious builders of socialism. The workers slowly change their attitude towards labour, from the commercial to the ideological and the unselfish.

The process of reeducation by labour involves, first of all, large masses of peasants who, by participation in collective labour, can be changed into industrious workers. Such a process of transformation is depicted in Gladkov's Ėnergiâ, where the seasonal peasant workers are won over by a team of young Komsomol members who arouse their pride in achievement with praise and encouragement, and shame the lazy ones by example. The easiest to win over are, however, the young peasants, for whom work at the project is the beginning of a new life. In Ėnergiâ Prokop leaves his

father's home and goes to the construction site; in Den' vtoroi Gruniâ, the daughter of a kulak, joins the Komsomol and becomes a conscientious worker.

The satisfaction derived from creative labour transforms not only backward peasants and workers, but also some members of the old intelligentsia. This is the case with engineer Krîazhich who is transformed from an indifferent observer into an enthusiastic builder of the Dneprostroï Dam. His transformation begins with his participation in manual work, when all the administrators and technicians help the workers dig a foundation pit. Krîazhich joins the others unwillingly, under pressure put forth by public opinion, but soon realizes the satisfaction gained from manual labour:

Как то незаметно он вошел во вкус работы, разгорячился, сердце забилось напористо и упруго, и ему стало физически радостно. . . . Был момент, когда он с изумлением почувствовал, что он работает с удовольствием, что в этот миг он не похожий на того Кряжича, который брезгливо фыркал час назад.⁶

The Soviet novel also differs from the Western one in the subordination of the literary material to propaganda purposes. Almost all Soviet novels introduce a fight with political enemies. At each of the construction projects there is a group of people engaged in counter-revolutionary activities. In Il'enkov's Vedushchaïa os' (The Driving Axle) engineers organize the production of intentionally useless axles. In Ènergiia the wreckers attempt to weaken the dam by using the wrong mixture of concrete; they also

set fire to one of the construction sectors. Arson and the demolition of machinery seem to be the favourite methods of industrial saboteurs. Arson occurs in Énergiia and Sot', while the deliberate destruction of machinery takes place in Vedushchaiâ os' and Den' vtoroi. Although the aim of the sabotage is to stop production or construction, it succeeds in causing only temporary delays and slight damage. Sooner or later the saboteurs are exposed and duly punished.

All industrial novels have happy endings: the wreckers are unmasked, the work of the strong-willed heroes ends in triumph, the building is completed, the plan overfulfilled or the record broken. The happy endings were inevitable, thanks to the propaganda purposes which were imposed on the industrial novel. At the time of the First Five-Year Plan, the aim of literature was to "raise the mass consciousness and to organize the mass will and enthusiasm for socialist construction and the great reforms being carried out."⁷ Literary accounts of industrial achievements in one area were to provide incentives for workers in another, the image of dedicated and strong-willed shock-workers was to set an example to follow.⁸

THE INDUSTRIAL THEME

Like many other Soviet writers, Jasieński paid tribute to the First Five-Year Plan by writing a novel glorifying

industrialization. In 1932-33 he published his Chelovek meniâet kozhu (Man Changes His Skin), depicting the construction of a new system of irrigation on the Vakhsh river.⁹ He gathered the material for the novel during his two trips to Tadzhikistan, first in 1930 as a member of the Government Commission of Demarcation between Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan, later as head of a group of foreign writers who visited Tadzhikistan in 1931.

The main theme of Chelovek meniâet kozhu is the building of an irrigation canal which will provide the Vakhsh valley with water, and thus change this dry land into a cotton plantation. The task of digging 150 kilometres has to be carried out in a short period of time, in order that the sowing of cotton may begin early in the spring.

The action begins with the arrival at the construction site of three American engineers, Clark, Murray and Becker.¹⁰ At their first meeting they learn about the difficulties hindering the progress of the construction—delays in the delivery of the excavators, inefficiency of the transportation system, shortage of manpower. They discover incompetent leadership and, worse still, sabotage. The plot revolves around these difficulties and the way they are finally overcome.

The first action taken to overcome the crisis is to get rid of the old management, which does not believe the

canal can be completed on time. The new director Morozov and the chief engineer Kirsh know how to stimulate the workers' initiative and how to promote the socialist competition which leads to an increase in labour efficiency. Thus the commercial attitude is slowly replaced by an unselfish attitude toward work. Two teams of excavator men, for instance, interchange every eight hours, thus dividing their time between work and sleep; a team of Komsomol volunteers works overtime without pay.

As in a typical industrial novel, the emphasis is placed not on the deeds of individuals but on the work of the collective. Each individual appears as a member of an organized group, and the work of such a group is the centre of Jasieński's interest. The description of the work at the foundation pit is very significant in this regard. The men begin by blasting, then they start breaking the rock; one team of workers loads the wheelbarrows with rock, another wheels them towards the excavators, yet another puts the load into the excavator bucket and finally dumps it into the river:

Тогда в котлован спрыгнули люди и стали рвать скалу аммоналом . . . Тогда подбегали другие, наваливали камень на тачки и бросались бежать, толкая тачку вперед . . . Добежав до старта они с грохотом опрокидывали тачку, камни на лету подхватывали другие рабочие, и грузили в оскаленный ковш экскаватора.¹¹

Like most industrial novelists, Jasieński portrays the work as an industrial battle, not very different from a

military one. Like the artillery barrage that precedes an attack, the sound of the explosion gives the signal to the workers to rush down to the pit and "to stab the rock with a pick as if it were a bayonet":

Потом внизу раздавался первый взрыв, за ним второй, третий, восьмой, — размеренные и глухие, как пушечные выстрелы. Это была короткая артиллерийская подготовка перед атакой. И когда отгремел шестнадцатый выстрел, люди стремглав кидались вниз, киркой, как штыком, начинали колоть ошарашенную породу. (p. 157)

And, as in a military battle, there are casualties. During the work at the rocky embankment the cliff slides down, killing one worker and injuring three others. The body of the Persian victim is honoured by a whistle from the eighteen excavators, like a military salute:

На восемнадцати экскаваторах протяжно загудели гудки. И вдруг, словно по данному знаку, восемнадцать экскаваторных стрел с пустыми ковшами взметнулись вверх и застыли, как в военном салюте. (p. 365)

Thus the construction of the Vakhsh canal is depicted in Chelovek meniaet kozhu as a front line, where people have to fight and the chief opponent is Nature itself. Nature seems resistant to the people's onslaught. The desert and the roads try to defend themselves by demolishing the springs and the wheels of the trucks:

Еще три года тому назад дороги пытались защищаться. Они ворочались под колесами арб, ухабами бодали радиаторы автомобилей, как ломают голень врагу, наступившему на горло. (p. 185)

The fight against the forces of Nature is accompanied by a fierce political and economic fight with class enemies

who do not hesitate to use any methods to stop or at least to delay the completion of the construction. The sabotage begins with the planning organs which supply faulty geological data. Then, there is a wrecking ring at the construction site itself. The saboteur Nemirovskii strips the work of the mechanical section, while Krushonykh directs the sabotaging activities of the blasting crew. Instructed by Krushonykh, one of the workers systematically adds more ammonal to increase the power of the explosion and thus cause the canal banks to slip. As a result, on the eve of the official opening of the canal, the Kata-Tag Mountain slides down. When the damage of the slide is eradicated, the enemies decide upon an open attack on the construction. A group of counter-revolutionaries crosses the Tadzhikistan-Afghanistan border, and attacks one of the sectors. The aim of this attack is to open the sluices and flood the valley where the fields have been prepared for planting cotton.

Needless to say, all these attempts to damage the construction fall flat and the novel ends in triumph. The Vakhsh canal is built, and official guests and foreign journalists watch the firing of the dam.

As in the typical industrial novel, the characters of Chelovek meniaet kozhu are crudely drawn in black and white; they are either good conscientious workers or saboteurs and wreckers.

The members of the sabotage ring are not all in it for the same reason; motives vary. Some of them are zealous enemies of the Soviet state, ready to do anything to overthrow the present system. This group is represented by the engineers Nemirovskii and Krushonykh, both members of the old intelligentsia, now involved in counter-revolutionary activities subsidized by foreign spy agencies. Nemirovskii and Krushonykh succeed in recruiting into their ring people like Kristallov and Parfenov; the first helps them for monetary reasons, the other is a moral wreck to whom alcohol means more than anything else.

The group of positive characters includes, first of all, a number of strong-willed Communists who are in charge of the construction. They are the new director, Morozov; a Party secretary, Sinit'syn; and a Tadzhik engineer, Urtaev. All of them are Bolsheviks of the old guard who fought for the revolution in 1917, and who now put their lives into the service of the construction. They appear as excellent leaders and organizers, whose dedicated work permits the completion of the canal on time.

When Morozov comes to the construction site, he spends many days inspecting different sections, learning about the people and about the machinery. He is concerned about every machine, but, above all, about every person. His concern about the people becomes apparent when, after

the rock slide, he forbids the diggers to work in the endangered area, despite their insistence to do so. Morozov's only weaknesses reveal themselves in his personal life. This rigid man falls in love with a girl of bad reputation but, afraid of losing prestige, he hides their relationship. Offended by Morozov, the seven-months pregnant Dar'îa leaves the construction site and despite all Morozov's efforts cannot be located.

The second group of positive characters in Chelovek menîaet kozhu is represented by the enthusiastic young Komsomoltsy, among them Kerim Nusreddinov, Anvarov, and Galtsev. They are portrayed as dedicated workers, ready to fulfill the most difficult tasks. They are sent to build a railway, where they work eighteen hours a day in appalling conditions, living in tents and plagued with mosquitoes and rain. Despite heavy rain and a shortage of building material they finish their work on time, thus advancing the completion of the construction. The leader of the Komsomol team is Kerim Nusreddinov, son of a poor Tadzhik peasant who was killed by the local "kulaks." The boy's greatest dream was to go to school, so he was sent to Stalinabad to study. After finishing high school, Kerim decides to work a couple of years at the construction project, and then to continue his education. His plans cannot be realized, however: Kerim is killed while defending the canal. Nusreddinov represents

a new type of Tadzhik youth—a conscious builder of socialism. The same could be said of Urunov, who left his village and joined the construction against his father's wishes. Urunov's father, a deeply religious person, cannot forgive his son for cooperating with the godless Russians, so he comes to the construction site to punish him.

A similar father-and-son conflict is depicted by Jasieński in his portrayal of the young Tadzhik engineer, Said Urtabaev. Because of his religious convictions, the old Urtabaev joins the forces of the counter-revolution, which are, in his opinion, the true defenders of Islam. When Said learns about his father's connections with the counter-revolutionaries, he himself delivers his father to the GPU, a punitive organ prosecuting the political enemies of the Soviet state.

Side by side with the conscious Komsomol and Party members, Jasieński introduces a few ordinary labourers, whose political ignorance does not prevent them from doing selfless work. One of them is a nameless excavator man who shows up for work despite an attack of malaria. Another is an old carpenter, Klimentiĭ, who voluntarily works a night shift with a Komsomol brigade. But the most interesting character in this category is Dar'îa Shestova, the leader of a female digging team, who challenges the men to socialist competition. Dar'îa herself is a shock worker who overful-

fills the norms set for the diggers: instead of the standard nine cubic metres she empties twenty-six. Her high efficiency is not matched by her moral standards. Dar'ia has a bad reputation as a girl who has too many love affairs. She changes her life style after falling in love with the construction director Morozov.

As a typical industrial novel, Chelovek meniaet kozhu emphasizes the influence of labour on the character of the people. Under the new circumstances of socialism, believes Jasieński, people are gradually rejecting the old ideas and replacing them with new attitudes and relations; in other words, they are "changing their skin":

Мы — поколение, уничтожившее капиталистическое общество, чтобы войти в социалистическое, — пока что меняем кожу. Это массовый и болезненный процесс. Изменились отношения между людьми, между людьми и вещами, между людьми и государством. Расширились масштабы каждой отдельной личности, старая кожа капиталистических отношений лопнула. Мы меняем ее на более просторную, в которой нам легче дышать. Это только первый шаг к тому коммунистическому обществу, где человек сбросит с себя наконец, как шелуху, всякую кожу условностей, обретая впервые во всем ее объеме свою атрофированную индивидуальность.
(p. 92)

The best illustration of "a man changing his skin" is Jim Clark, an American engineer who, in the process of working on the Vakhsh canal, is transformed from a dispassionate outsider into a dedicated participant in the construction. The motives for Clark's coming to Tadzhikistan are simple: he lost his job in the States and was forced to look for a

job abroad. He comes to the Soviet Union to earn some money. At first he is amazed at the new attitude toward work, but gradually he himself becomes involved and develops a new approach. The first step in this direction is shown in the episode in which Clark replaces a sick excavator man and operates a machine during the night shift. He also volunteers to work with other diggers in a dangerous area. On the basis of such actions Clark is accepted as an equal member of the collective. While recovering from an accident Clark learns Russian and begins to read Voprosy leninizma (The Problems of Leninism). His teacher is Masha Polozova, a young practical student appointed as his interpreter. She is the author's mouthpiece, pronouncing the long, didactic speeches that acquaint Clark with the basic assumptions of Marxist ideology. Predictably, Clark falls in love with his mentor and they get married. His study of Marxist theory and his participation in socialist construction convince Clark that socialism is the only right path for the future. From a petty-bourgeois he changes into a conscious builder of socialism.

THE DETECTIVE PLOT

If its thematic components make Chelovek meniaet kozhu a typical Soviet industrial novel, its originality lies in the arrangement of this material within the structure of the

conventional detective story. Jasieński chose the form of the detective novel with a series of criminal episodes that pose the puzzle Who and Why and How. The data for the solution are presented inconspicuously and in sequences purposely dislocated so as to conceal their connections. To gather the clues and to draw from them the inevitable conclusions is the function of the detective. The discovery comes as a surprise to the reader and thus forms the dramatic climax of the novel.¹²

The series of criminal episodes in Chelovek menfaet kozhu begins with threatening letters received by the American engineers. The message contained in them is clear —leave the construction or you will be killed. Only one of the Americans takes this threat to heart and goes back to the States; the two others decide to stay. A few days later they are subjected to another trial: they find in their rooms matchboxes containing poisonous scorpions; fortunately, no one is bitten by the insects. The next attempt is even more dramatic: Jim Clark is pushed into a deep canal, and only by chance escapes death.

Simultaneously with the attempts on the lives of the American specialists there is a series of wrecking acts on the construction. As mentioned before, the saboteurs try to stop the construction by breaking the machinery, causing the slide of the mountain, and attacking the canal on the eve of

the official opening.

It is the task of the investigating organs to expose the saboteurs and halt their activities, as well as to find out the people attempting to kill the American specialists. The chief investigator is Komarenko, an employee of the State Political Administration. As befits a good detective, Komarenko gathers clues and does not hastily draw conclusions. Unlike most of his colleagues, he is not led astray by information against the Tadzhik engineer, Said Urtabaev. According to a letter signed by Isa Khodzhiyarov and a number of Tadzhik workers, Urtabaev is a counter-revolutionary agent, collaborating with the enemies of the Soviet state. During the civil war Urtabaev allegedly surrendered his Red Army detachment to the enemy, and now, working as an engineer on the Vakhsh canal, is falsely accused of being the head of the wrecking ring. Urtabaev is a typical "false clue," a device often employed in detective fiction. Suspicion is fixed on the wrong character, thus delaying the discovery of the real criminal.

The true culprit is unmasked at the end of the novel. He is Mr. Murray, a disguised British Intelligence agent, who posed as an American specialist.¹³ Colonel Bailey, alias Murray, had first come to Tadzhikistan in 1918 and, as a member of the British military mission, had tried to organize an insurrection against Soviet rule. The mission

did not succeed and Bailey was forced to flee to Afghanistan. He returns to Tadzhikistan at the beginning of the 1930's to master-mind the sabotage at the Vakhsh canal, and in this way to discredit the Soviet government in the eyes of the local people. First of all, Bailey decided to get rid of the American engineers, so he sends them threatening letters. He organizes a wrecking ring; he recruits Krushonykh and others by offering them large sums of money. He also establishes a contact with Isa Khodzhiġarov, a member of a counter-revolutionary organization with headquarters in Afghanistan. It is Khodzhiġarov who denounces Urtabaev and who instructs the kulaks on how to fight Soviet rule. Khodzhiġarov is also the person who pushes Clark into the canal. After Clark's recovery and his report to Komarov, Khodzhiġarov flees to Afghanistan, where he organizes a group of "basmaches" to attack the construction.

Although the exposure of Murray comes as a surprise to the reader, Khodzhiġarov's participation in the counter-revolutionary activities is somehow expected. He is portrayed as a typical shady character, whose appearance alone evokes suspicion: he has only one eye and his distorted face has a sinister look. The portrayal of Murray, on the other hand, meets all the requirements of the conventional detective story. He is introduced early in the story and is depicted as an honest foreign specialist, sympathetic to the

Soviet system. He is never under suspicion and his exposure comes as a surprise to the reader, thus forming the dramatic climax of the novel.

The publication of Chelovek meniâet kozhu aroused an animated discussion on the question of the place of the detective genre in Soviet literature. Some critics argued that the outwardly engaging plot obscures the social and psychological significance of the events described and should therefore be avoided. Such was the opinion of E. Tager, who wrote in his review:

Таким образом, невольно центр внимания, как авторского, так и читательского, переносится из плоскости изображения типических явлений социальной действительности в плоскость чисто внешней игры острыми фабульными положениями.¹⁴

But the majority of the critics spoke in favour of the skilful utilization of the detective plot to depict Soviet reality, as long as it was subordinated to the actual political and social tasks. N. Rykova wrote in Literaturnyi sovremennik:

Для нас, для советского читателя, это непосредственное восприятие советского детектива возможно лишь в таком случае, если он, не сдаваясь по линии доходчивости, занимательности, увлекательности, удовлетворяет в то же время тем требованиям, которые мы предъявляем к нашей литературе, т.е. дает особыми своими специфическими приемами художественное раскрытие явлений в процессе объективной действительности, художественное раскрытие человека.¹⁵

Jasieński himself defended the use of the conventions of the detective genre, providing they acquire new meaning

and show new relations characteristic of Soviet reality. In his speech at the First Congress of Soviet Writers he argued against Il'ia Erenburg's view that the plot novel had outlived itself and that the novel had to come closer to the factual sketch. The plot novel, stressed Jasieński, was the best means of attracting the reader and forcing him to accept the ideas promoted by the author:

Пренебрежение к сюжету есть оборотная сторона пренебрежения к читателю, к облегчению ему усвоения того большого содержания, которое мы обязаны ему дать. . . . Привлекательный сюжет есть одно из средств приковать читателя к книге, заставить его не в порядке принудительной нагрузки, и зачастую помимо его воли, неуловимо для него самого впитать и усвоить те мысли, которые желает внушить ему автор.¹⁶

LOCAL COLOUR

Another quality that distinguishes Chelovek meniaet kozhu from typical industrial novels is its regionalism. The novel is set in Tadzhikistan, and much attention is devoted to descriptions of the Tadzhik locale, customs and history. The description of Tadzhikistan is not, however, mere decoration. It is an intrinsic part of the novel, whose function is to contrast the new Soviet Tadzhikistan with its recent feudal past.

The past of Tadzhikistan is introduced in remarks by the author, in comments by the characters, but above all in short novellas, called "pauses," which have their own plots,

and are very loosely connected with the main story. They somehow "retard" the development of the basic plot, and are called accordingly "pauses," peculiar forms of digression in which Jasieński expresses some generalizations. First he develops a theme in a number of chapters, then he summarizes it in a pause. The pauses function as journalistic commentaries on the problems brought up earlier in the novel.

Throughout all these pauses runs the theme of the astonishing changes taking place in Tadzhikistan. These changes become evident in the first pause, "About Fakirs," describing the discovery of rich oil reserves and the building of a chemical plant in the Tadzhik steppe. The motif of industrialization is reinforced in the main story line of the novel depicting the construction of a new system of irrigation on the Vakhsh river.

From the construction of the canal the action moves to the nearby villages, where the 'dekhkane' (peasants) learn how to farm collectively. The process of collectivization is portrayed by Jasieński as an attack on the old ways of life. In the pause, "About One Member of the Collective," Jasieński describes the feudal order that prevailed in the Tadzhik village, and contrasts it with the new relations. Shokhodbin, the richest man in the area, is deprived of his property as well as of the prestige he had among the peasants. The board of the collective is composed

of poor peasants, the former farm labourers.

Equally instructive is the pause, "About the Stolen Land," telling how a rich peasant stole land from his poor neighbour. The theft occurred in a mountain village where peasants had to 'make' their own fields by bringing soil from the lower valleys. When a flooded stream washed away the soil from the field of a rich peasant Ali Mukhutdin, he stole soil from Nusreddin. Only the intervention of the district Party Secretary helped Nusreddin recover his land.

The new conditions, emphasizes Jasieński, change the life of the Tadzhik people. Kerim Nusreddinov, the son of a poor peasant, goes to school in Stalinabad. After graduating from high school, he joins the Vakhsh construction workers, and becomes the leader of a Komsomol team. The widow Zumrat, who only a year before had stopped wearing a veil, is chosen to sit on the board of the collective. Said Urtabaev, the former student of a seminary, becomes the first Tadzhik engineer. Said's education in the Mir Arab seminary and his involvement in the revolutionary movement are depicted in the pause, "About One Dzhadid."

The changes taking place in Tadzhikistan are very apparent in the faces of cities, especially of Stalinabad, the new capital of the republic. A few years ago, writes Jasieński, "there was a huge steppe scarred with dusty roads; over the steppe came camels pulling huge beams from

distant Termez. . . . Today, along the line traced across the desert by the first beam of the first camel, from Termez to Dushambe, stretches the railway":

Тогда здесь простиралась большая степь, изрезанная пыльными дорогами, верблюды тащили по ней огромные балки из далекого Термеза, . . . Сегодня, по черте, проведенной первой балкой первого верблюда, от Термеза до Дюшамбе тянулось вздутым рубцом полотно железной дороги, и ночью, пугая шакалов, протяжно выли паровозы. (p. 184)

The dusty roads were conquered by stone masons who "sat on the chests of the elusive roads and kept beating them with hammers until the roads turned into stone." Then people erected signposts at the crossroads, and the nameless roads became streets:

Тогда на подмогу городу с далекого Севера приехали каменщики. Они сели на грудь изворотливых дорог и долго глушили их молотками, пока те не окостенели. Потом на перекрестках приколотили дощечки с именами, и безымянная дорога стала улицей. (p. 185)

For the first few years the new city coexisted with the old "kishlak." The main street merged with the old bazaar, crowded with clay stalls and shacks:

За площадью главная улица суживалась и переходила в старый базар, вздыбленный по краям дороги глиняным хаосом хибарок и ларьков, крошечных чайхан и ашхан. У входа в ашханы стояли бородатые люди в фартуках поверх слинявших халатов, — странные люди-автоматы, люди-комбайны с копилками вместо голов. (p. 186)

But soon the new city moved a step ahead and forced out the old Asia. The old bazaar was superseded by a wide modern street:

Город шагнул вперед, и старая базарная Азия, подобрав

свои лотки, шмыгнула за Дюшамбинку. Не осталось от ней даже бараньего духу, словно смыл его широкий ветер с проспекта. (p. 187)

From the point of view of its language the description of Stalinabad is highly metaphoric. Jasieński endows the city with the qualities of a living person. Like a young boy, Stalinabad keeps changing: during one year it "grew, matured and spoke with a deep voice." The streets became "overgrown" with houses, and the houses, "like women, tired by the sun and the heat, opened their green umbrellas of trees and the fans of gardens":

Сегодня пыльные безымянные дороги обросли с двух сторон домами, и дома, как женщины, утомленные солнцем и жарой, раскрыли зеленые зонты деревьев и развернули веера палисадников. (p. 185)

A similar abundance of metaphors distinguishes the description of Moscow, given in the first chapter of the novel. Moscow looks like a giant construction: buildings, "by nature round-shouldered and dwarfish," are stubbornly growing up, "on their flat shoulders there clamber up new floors":

По обеим сторонам проспекта бежали дома. От природы сутулые и низкорослые, они упрямо поднимались вверх на обтесанных ходулях лесов. Это не была улица, как все другие улицы мира — незыблемые овраги домов. Это смахивало скорее на веселый парад физкультурников: дома двигались, на их плоские плечи карабкались новые этажи. (p. 186)

The street comes out onto a square that looks like a dollar bill: "green and rusty." The church standing on the corner resembles an old market woman with her hair twisted into a

bun on the top of her head:

Они выехали на площадь, пересеченную бульваром. С бульвара, как из открытой форточки, дул мягкий весенний ветер. Бульвар лежал у ног, как доллар, — зеленый и шуршащий. (p. 7)

Significantly, such metaphoric language appears in those fragments of the novel in which Jasieński renders the point of view of his characters. The changes in Stalinabad are observed by Natal'ia Sinit'syna, who perceives the city in a peculiar "double vision"; her memories preserve the image of a small town from six years ago, which she constantly compares with the new face of Stalinabad. In the description of Moscow Jasieński renders the impressions of Jim Clark, who has come to the Soviet Union for the first time. Being a foreigner, Clark perceives everything in a new light, and the novelty of his perception is reflected in numerous comparisons and metaphors.

The metaphoric style is also characteristic of the narrative parts reflecting the author's point of view. The author's language abounds in metaphors, often striking in their originality. Jasieński is especially fond of short metaphoric descriptions of Nature, most of which depict morning or evening landscapes. Here is an image of a street, bathed in the light of the morning sun:

Улица, в лимонно-розовом свете поднимающегося солнца, лежала ослепительно голая после ночной купели, не окутанная еще зыбким покрывом зноя, вдыхая последние крупинки тающей тени. (p. 59)

The image of a brisk morning, which "washes away the web of sleep" from the face of Jim Clark, corresponds to the happy mood of the protagonist. In another instance, the image of a bright morning is contrasted with the pessimistic mood of Said Urtaev, accused of sabotage:

На рассвете прошел дождь и, как заботливый хозяин в ожидании гостя, опрыскал пыльную землю. День пришел с Востока, из Кашгарии, умелой рукой расстелил повсюду свой ненормированный товар: крыши блестели как эмалированная посуда, и даже листва топорщилась на деревьях, точно необыкновенные халаты, развешанные для приманки. (p. 236)

Equally metaphoric are some descriptions of the construction. Throughout the novel Jasieński animates the excavator machines. He depicts them as animal creatures, "pasturing in the ravine," "chewing stones," and "drinking" gasoline:

У стены, уткнувшись мордой вниз, стоял одинокий экскаватор. Экскаватор, сопя и похрапывая, терпеливо грыз грунт. Набрав полную пасть камня, он поднимал свою жирафью шею, озирая окрестности, выплевывал застрявший в глотке щебень, протяжно зевал и опять равнодушно принимался за работу. (p. 74)

In contrast with the metaphoric style of the narrative, the dialogues are written in a colourless, standard language. All characters speak the same stereotyped language, saturated with stock phrases and political terminology. Here is a fragment of a heated ideological discussion between Jim Clark and Masha Polozova:

— Я хотел сказать только одно: в том, что сейчас делается, есть много противоречий. Вы создаете

здесь новое общество основанное на упразднении частной собственности. Прекрасно. Вам кажется, что вы в состоянии расширить масштаб возможностей каждой единицы до бесконечности. Не так ли? Извечный конфликт между личностью и обществом вы, враги индивидуализма и проповедники интересов коллектива, решаете в пользу личности и во вред коллективу. (p. 91)

The discussion has to be conducted in English, since Clark at this point does not understand Russian, and Polozova is assigned to him as an interpreter. Later on Clark learns Russian and his difficulties with pronunciation and grammar are reflected in his speech. He mispronounces Russian words ("neschasny," "spomnit"), uses wrong genders ("chuzhoï zhizn'," "devushka znal"), and forgets to inflect nouns ("ne budet svîazat svoï molodoï zhizn s stary zhizn chuzhoï chelovek"). Frequently, he uses English structures while speaking Russian ("prosit eë zhenitsîa ego," "eë zabyt nikogda budet vozmozhno"):

Он скоро понял, что его жизн связался нераздельно с девушка, котора его учил чужой язык. Легко забыт все, что был до этого, но ее забыт никагда будет возможно. Но он думал, что будет очень банально: в все плохи романы герой бальной и потом любит свою няню и просит ее женится его. (p. 326)

Such individualization of Clark's language, however, does not last long. Already in the next chapter he speaks correct Russian without a single mistake:

— Я считаю, что Мурри имел столько же времени научиться говорить по-русски, сколько и я. А если ему не хотелось, то это не основания, чтобы моя жена покидала мой дом и служила у него переводчицей. (p. 340)

Unlike other Soviet writers, Jasieński refused to

transmit national characteristics with the help of distorted language, filled with local words and ungrammatical inflections. This trend in Soviet literature could be illustrated by the speech of a Kirghiz hero from Feoktist Berezovskii's novel V stepnykh prostorach:

Белый пурга... синэг!... синэг!... сапсем прапал!
Большой бай долго жит бойт... Муса джяксы бойт!...¹⁷

Only occasionally does Jasieński differentiate the language of his Tadzhik heroes by introducing local words and imitating the intonation of Tadzhik. One of the best examples is the language of an old Tadzhik, Farkhat, who tells the story about the 'mirab' deceiving the poor peasants:

А пришел безводный год. В арыках одна муть текла.
И все знали, что не хватит воды на поливы. А от
одного арыка испокон веков питались два кишлака.
А один кишлак был большой кишлак, и в нем жили три
бая, — ох, какие богатые бай! А в другом кишлаке,
на плохой земле, сидели бедняки и чайрикеры. (p. 51)

By juxtaposing short sentences all beginning with the conjunctions "and" or "but," by repeating certain phrases to reinforce the effect, and by introducing Tadzhik words, Jasieński reproduces the intonation of the Tadzhik language. But such instances occur infrequently. Jasieński's Tadzhiks, as a rule, speak simple, yet grammatical Russian.

Speaking of the language of Chelovek meniaet kozhu, it should be noted that Jasieński's Russian is remarkably proficient. Contrary to what one would expect, there are no Polonisms, either in lexicon or in syntax. It seems almost

certain that Jasieński's novel was edited by a native speaker of Russian, most likely by Anna Berzin', the writer's second wife.

Jasieński's first Russian novel was a great success. There were nine editions of the novel during the years 1933-1936.¹⁸ Chelovek meniaet kozhu was also translated into several languages, among them English, Czech, Finnish and Polish.¹⁹ The name of Bruno Jasieński became well known in the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIALIST REALISM IN "MUZHESTVO"

AND ZAGOVOR RAVNODUSHNYKH

Chelovek meniaet kozhu was Jasieński's first work completely sustained in the tradition of Socialist Realism. It was followed by a short story "Muzhestvo" (Bravery)¹ and an unfinished novel Zagovor ravnodushnykh (A Conspiracy of the Indifferent),² both subordinated to the utilitarian requirement that literature should offer didactic illustrations of ideological premises and patterns of behaviour. If Jasieński's first Russian novel centred around the theme of industrialization and the new attitudes towards labour, "Muzhestvo" and Zagovor depict the psychological changes that new social and economic conditions had brought about in the Soviet people. Instead of glorifying the latest achievements in the field of industrialization, Jasieński explores the new morality and new relations between people.

The moral problem facing Sergei Onufriev, the protagonist of "Muzhestvo," is very simple. It has to do with basic honesty. Should he reveal the truth about how his life was saved in a plane crash? When the pilot died of a heart attack, the four passengers had to decide who was to use the only parachute. Should it be Misha Pokaliuk, the owner of the parachute, or Variia Kashchenko, who, besides

being the only woman, is pregnant? Or should it be one of the two factory heads—Onufriev, the director, or Losev, the chief engineer? To make the story more intriguing Jasieński does not describe how the decision was reached; he simply informs the reader that it was Onufriev who used the parachute. It is up to Onufriev to reveal what happened.

The central theme of Zagovor ravnodushnykh is the moral responsibility of every person for events taking place in the world. To be indifferent, believes Jasieński, is to encourage more killing and betrayals. "Do not be afraid of your enemies," writes Jasieński in his epigraph to the novel, "the worst they can do is kill you. Do not be afraid of your friends, the worst they can do is betray you. Be afraid of the indifferent; they do not kill or betray, but because of their silent consent betrayal and murder exist on earth."³ The theme of the indifferent runs along two parallel lines of action: one describing the underground work of socialists in Fascist Germany, the other depicting political purges taking place in the Soviet Union in the 1930's. The novel opens with the description of a Party purge in one of the secret factories, located "somewhere in the snowy fields of the U.S.S.R." Garanin, a young newspaper editor, is accused of Trotskyism, and, because of the indifference of his colleagues, is arrested. Jasieński's vagueness about the place of action suggests that similar "cases"

could have happened in any factory or in any city in the Soviet Union.

But at the same time Jasieński introduces into his novel a wealth of factual material, such as advertisements, radio programmes, and newspaper headlines. Whereas in his earlier novels the newspaper articles were highly stylized, in Zagovor ravnodushnykh they are perfectly authentic, and could have been found in any daily Soviet paper published in the middle of the 1930's:

„Первый пленум Московского Совета". „Об итогах пятого пленума ВЦСПС". — Вот они, внутренние резервы! — „Французский министр иностранных дел Лаваль выезжает сегодня вечером в 8 ч. 30 м. в Рим..." — Вот точная информация, до одной минуты! — „Стачка под землей... Бастующие захватили шахту и не поднимаются наверх, требуя гарантий, что их не оставят без работы... Несколько человек заболели вследствие отравления газами..." „Международный шахматный турнир в Гастингсе. В партии против Митчелла Ботвинник имеет шансы на выигрыш..." (p. 260)

The function of this factual material is to "objectivize" fictional reality and to convince the reader of the authenticity of the events and characters described.

It goes without saying that Jasieński subjects both his works to the rule of probability by choosing fictional elements that have frequent analogies in real life, and by carefully motivating all the happenings. This painstaking verisimilitude was responsible for a certain amount of schematism in Jasieński's depiction both of the characters and of the surrounding reality. Although he gives his last

works an industrial setting, it is often so abstract that the reader is not even aware of the type of industry depicted by the author. Moreover, he continues to confront his readers with standardized types of "positive" heroes clearly distinguished from "negative" characters. The latter, as might be expected, are the vacillating intellectuals. Some, like Losev, are dispassionate outsiders; others, like Relikh, foreign agents in disguise. The positive characters are, without exception, high-ranking officials—a factory director in "Muzhestvo," Party secretaries in Zagovor. They are all excellent leaders, and the higher they are in the Party hierarchy, the more outstanding are their personal qualities. Thus, Filiferov, the second secretary of the district committee, is portrayed as a good worker but easily influenced by others. By contrast, Karabut, the first secretary, is a man of principle, who always stands by his convictions. But it is Adrianov, the secretary of the regional committee, who at first seems a model of a Party functionary. He is enthusiastic about the work he is doing, and infects others with his enthusiasm. He combines the practical talents of a leader with a visionary idealism. While developing industry in his backward region, he dreams about transforming it into a health resort area. But Adrianov proves to be one of the indifferent when it comes to Garanin's case. He chooses to believe in Garanin's guilt, rather than sacrifice his own

authority.

The only person who has the moral courage to defend Garanin is Karabut. Intended as a vehicle for the moral norm, he lacks, however, the depth and complexity needed for a fully rounded character. It is possible that the flatness of Karabut's character is due to the fact that Zagovor is an unfinished novel. Jasieński did not have an opportunity to develop his characters fully and show their inner development.

Nevertheless, he did succeed in conveying the inner life of some of his protagonists. Whereas in Chelovek he was concerned about such things as work quotas, technical problems, and sabotage, in "Muzhestvo" and Zagovor he records the emotional lives of characters and explores their mental activity.

Jasieński's growing concern for the inner experiences of his protagonists was responsible for a change in his narrative technique. As in Chelovek, he continues to use the omniscient narrator, which enables him to impose on the reader his own system of values and appreciations, and to eliminate ambiguity in favour of a clear evaluation of all facts and characters. But now he frequently combines the omniscient narrator with a concealed one, or with the stream of consciousness.

In Zagovor he reduces the function of the narrator's comments in favour of dialogues and interior monologues,

presenting the point of view of a character either as orderly utterance or as disjointed stream of consciousness. In comparison with Chelovek, the dialogues are better individualized, although some still sound artificially rhetorical. When Zheniā Garanin, the wife of the accused editor, comes to Relikh to seek his advice, he "consoles" her by delivering a lecture on the history of the CPSU:

— Ты изучала историю партии и помнишь, в какой момент ставил Гаранин вопрос о своем выходе из ВЛКСМ, — мягко говорит Релих. — Если не помнишь, я тебе напому. Это было накануне года великого перелома, накануне развернутого наступления на кулачество. Ты должна помнить, хотя бы из нашей беллетристики, что партия бросила тогда в деревню, на ответственные участки, тысячи и десятки тысяч лучших комсомольцев. Тысячи комсомольцев пали на своем посту, подло убитые из-за угла кулацкой пулей. На героических могилах этих людей выросла наша социалистическая деревня. (p. 250)

The interior monologue, as used in Zagovor, either reproduces directly the impressions passing through the mind of the character, or combines them with the narrator's comments. Here is an example of the direct interior monologue describing Adrianov's dream of developing cross-country skiing in his region:

"Третий год весь край под снегом — скатерть. А дураки скулят. Связь разлаживается. Не хватает людей расчищать дороги. Из колхоза в район, за каких-нибудь двадцать километров, по любому пустяку гоняют лошадей, когда лес лежит невывезенным. А секретари? А инструктора? Без машины в деревню ни ногой. Каждый день сажают машины в сугробы. Автомобилисты! А на лыжах не угодно? Быстрее — раз; вернее — два; здоровее — три. Никакого зряшного разбазаривания транспорта плюс экономия горючего". (p. 259)

When Jasieński depicts the internal struggle in Adrianov's mind concerning Garanin, he switches to the indirect interior monologue:

Не снять Карабута нельзя. Доверил газету Гаранину. К тому же история с покушением на убийство Гаранина собственной женой — комсомолкой и ударницей — бросает на все дело сугубо неприятный свет: позволяет ожидать дополнительных разоблачений. А о заводе, на котором происходят такие вещи, ребенок скажет, что атмосфера на нем нездоровая. Релих вправе утверждать, что созданию этой атмосферы способствовала длительная драка, которую вел с ним на заводе Карабут при солчаливой поддержке Адрианова. Снять Карабута придется, ничего не поделаешь. (p. 274)

But Jasieński's most successful method of rendering point of view is the concealed narrator, who leads the reader to a vantage point inside the character's consciousness so as to see with the character's eyes, hear with his ears, and experience his sensations.⁴ This type of narration appears in Zagovor, but not nearly so much as in "Muzhestvo," where the point of view is constantly changing. The story begins with a short description of the landscape as seen by Variā Kashchenko from a plane. Then the narrator induces the reader to plunge into the consciousness of Misha Pokaliūk. Finally, the focus is shifted to two more passengers, Losev and Onufriev, and the narrator's general remarks alternate with passages rendering their points of view. The climax of the story, the death of the pilot, is depicted in dialogues, and then the action moves to another level. At first, peasants watch a descending parachute, and then the

reader learns that Onufriev is the only survivor. The rest of the story reflects Onufriev's point of view.

Formally, the concealed narrator does not differ from the omniscient; they both use the third person singular. But a close textual analysis reveals subtle differences between the two. First of all, the concealed narrator usually employs a verb of perception. Whenever Jasieński plunges the reader into Onufriev's consciousness he introduces a verb like "to see," "to feel," or "to think." When Onufriev arrives in his home town, he "sees" people who come to meet him; he "feels" his wife's arms around his neck; he tries "to think out" what to tell them:

Сергей Харитонович увидел в толпе на перроне Ольгу, секретаря парткома Буравина, редактора заводской газеты, еще много знакомых лиц. Пришли встречать! Да, верно, ведь он сам послал телеграмму! Он только сейчас сообразил: надо же им будет что-то сказать, надо что-то обдумать, — но думать уже было поздно.

Он ощутил на шее ольгины руки. Улыбающиеся лица теснились вокруг него. Группа рабочих поздравляла его с чем-то — ах, да! — со спасением. (p. 13)

Secondly, the concealed narrator transmits the value judgments of his characters. In "Muzhestvo" this is apparent in the use of epithets that convey Onufriev's happiness upon landing safely. The people seem to him "unknown, but incredibly nice," water is "cold and indescribably tasty":

Он не переставал блаженно улыбаться окружившим его незнакомым, но невероятно милым и давно уже любимым людям. Его поставили на ноги. Он ощупал подошвами незыблемый пол земли и вдруг заплакал.

Румяная баба в голубом платке поднесла к его губам кружку с холодной, невыразимо вкусной водой. (p. 12)

Similarly, Onufriev's hazy impressions of what has happened to him are transmitted by indefinite pronouns—"someone" (kto-to), "something" (chto-to):

Ударившись о что-то твердое, Сергей Харитонович открыл глаза. Ныло подмышками. Он не ощущал ничего, кроме страшной усталости и тошноты. Непонятная сила волокла его в сторону по ровной зеленой луговине. Кто-то, кажется, подхватил его, отстегивал ремни. Была страшная тишина. Кто-то что-то говорил над самым ухом: широкое усатое лицо в солменной шляпе. (p. 12)

Finally, the concealed narrator frequently introduces phrases and expressions characteristic of spoken language. In "Muzhestvo" there are words conveying the protagonist's uncertainty—"it seems" (kazhetsia), "may be" (mozhet byt'), and phrases indicating his way of reasoning, such as:

Небо было голубое и бездонное. Самолета на нем не было. Может, его и не было никогда? Да и наверное не было. Все это — скверный, мучительный сон. . . .

В коридоре толкались с чемоданами: должно быть, большая станция. (p. 13)

In his desire to show the new morality of the Soviet people as well as complex human relations, Jasieński is close to Leonid Leonov. Leonov's Sot', Skutarevskii, but above all, Doroga na Okean (Road to the Ocean) are rooted in moral and psychological questions, the industrial setting providing only a background.⁵ The plot of Doroga na Okean revolves around the last days of railroad commissioner

Kurilov, who is suffering from cancer. This old communist, who fought in the Civil War, and now is involved in the reconstruction of the railroad, seems at first an ideal choice for a "positive" hero. But he proves instead to be rather a "superfluous" man, unable to work, and spending his last days in a sanatorium. Instead of showing his protagonist in action, indefatigable and successful, Leonov portrays the deepening humanity of his hero.

In comparison with Leonov, Jasieński is still too one-sided in his portrayal of characters. He shows his protagonists absorbed in their social tasks, and completely neglects their personal lives. He still works with a few standard types of characters, the psychological characterization only strengthening the division into the positive and negative characters. In doing so, he is closer to the theory of Socialist Realism, which requires literature not only to describe the realities of the new world but also to provide edifying examples.

Another Soviet writer warranting comparison with Jasieński is Konstantin Fedin, whose many novels exploit the "Western" theme. In his Goroda i gody (Cities and Years) and Pokhishchenie Evropy (The Rape of Europe) Fedin juxtaposes life in the West with life in the U.S.S.R. Pokhishchenie Evropy displays several parallels with Zagovor ravnodushnykh.⁶ Both novels contrast two antagonistic systems—

socialism and capitalism. Fedin sets the action of his first volume in Norway, Holland and Germany, and portrays the economic depression, 1929-1933. Jasieński moves the action in the second part of his novel from the Soviet Union to Germany, and depicts the polarization of the German people in the 1930's. Some join the ranks of the Communist party, others become Fascists. Both writers succeed in conveying a vivid picture of the West by contrasting the life of the rich and the poor, and by showing the growing demoralization of the Western people.

In the second volume of Pokhishchenie the action is shifted to the Soviet Union. Despite Fedin's efforts to show the tremendous economic upsurge in his country, the picture of Soviet reality is not too convincing. This results from Fedin's uncritical copying of ready-made elements of the industrial novel—the unpaid labour, the shock workers, the enthusiastic leaders.

In his treatment of Soviet reality, Jasieński goes beyond such clichés by deepening the psychological portraits of his characters. He succeeds in transmitting the moral problems facing Soviet people. Zagovor ravnodushnykh is one of the first books warning against the indifference and apathy which lead to political repression. Published twenty years later, it reads like a tragic postscript to what happened in the Soviet Union in the 1930's.

CHAPTER VIII

GROTESQUE ELEMENTS IN BAL MANEKENOV AND "NOS"

Both Jasieński's Russian novels, Chelovek meniaet kozhu and Zagovor ravnodushnykh, were written in the tradition of psychological realism, considered to be the true method of Soviet literature. But Jasieński was not an uncritical adherent of the theory of "pure" realism based on verisimilitude and the probability of characters and situations. He believed that the fantastic and the unusual were indispensable elements of all fiction. In his 1934 address to the First Congress of Soviet Writers he accused Soviet critics of a narrow interpretation of Engels' formula of "typical characters in typical circumstances," maintaining that they wanted to reduce the typical to mere stereotypes. As a result, Soviet writers preferred to duplicate the schemes rather than risk being reproached for inventiveness and failure to reflect reality:

Мне кажется, что известная энгельсовская формула реализма — типичный характер в типичных обстоятельствах — не всегда правильно применяется нами в нашей литературной работе, что в поисках типичных обстоятельств мы нередко ограничиваемся, если так можно выразиться, обстоятельствами более стереотипными, наименее подверженными упреку в авторской выдумке и в несоответствии с объективной действительностью.¹

"Soviet literature too empirically follows the steps of

reality," stressed Jasieński in his speech at the Plenum of Soviet Writers in Minsk, and he called for "bold invention, raised on the material of actual reality, but not afraid to leap forward to tomorrow":

Я обвиняю нашу литературу в чересчур робком, чересчур эмпирическом следовании по пятам за действительностью. Мы отражаем настоящее в его соотношении к прошлому — это легче. Но у нас нет еще произведений, которые давали бы нам картину нашего „сегодня" через объектив будущего. . . . Я поднимаю свой голос, как поднимают тост: за смелую выдумку, вскормленную на материале живой действительности, но не боящуюся перешагнуть через ее полное неожиданности завтра.²

Jasieński's defense of artistic invention was not unwarranted. He utilized the fantastic and the extraordinary in his Bal manekenov (The Ball of the Mannequins), a satiric play written in 1931, and in "Nos," a short story published in 1936. Both works could be described as grotesque, since they present "the estranged world where what seemed familiar and natural suddenly turned out to be strange and ominous."³ They are based on play with absurdity and on deformation of real correlations.

Bal manekenov distorts reality to the point of alienation by moving the mannequins from the category of objects into the category of living creatures. Throughout the play Jasieński credits the mannequins with the qualities and actions of human beings.

The mannequin motif might have been inspired by E. T. A. Hoffmann's story "Der Sandmann,"⁴ which Jasieński could

have seen in the form of Jacques Offenbach's comic opera Les Contes d'Hoffmann (Tales of Hoffmann), or of Clément Delibes' ballet Coppélia, during his stay in Paris. The central episode of "Der Sandmann" depicts a mechanical doll that seems to be a woman. Olympia not only looks like a woman, but also walks, dances and sings. There is, however, a certain perfection that exposes her mechanical nature: her figure is too symmetrical, her steps are measured, her playing and singing are unpleasantly perfect. But Olympia's life-like appearance deceives Nathanael, who falls in love with the puppet. Interestingly, Nathanael's first encounter with Olympia takes place at a ball; he spends the whole evening dancing with her. The ball motif is expanded by Jasiński, who sets the entire action of his play against a ballroom backdrop.

Bal manekenov begins with the mannequins gathering for their annual ball. Not unlike people, they dance, gossip and amuse themselves. We could speak about the personification of the mannequins were it not that they believe themselves superior to humans. They consider men their "imperfect copies who to no avail imitate their harmonious and irreproachable figures." Human heads are regarded by the mannequins as "shapeless and empty pumpkins" whose only function is to support hats:

Все они—лишь ничтожные копии, сделанные по
нашему образцу! Смех меня разбирает, когда я смотрю

на этих скрюченных уродов. Они хотят во что бы то ни стало, чтобы платье, которое идеально сидит на нас, лежало бы хорошо и на них. . . .

Носят на плечах эти бесформенные пустые дыни, которые называют головами. Они сидят на них так же уродливо, как и их платья. Не знаю, может быть у других головы имеют какое-нибудь особое назначение, но этим тунеядцам они служат лишь подставками для их смешных трубообразных шляп.⁵

The happy atmosphere of the ball is changed by the arrival of Ribandel, who has mistaken a female mannequin for a pretty woman and followed her to this place. Fearing the worst if people learn their secret, the mannequins kill the intruder. Ribandel's head is cut off, but his headless body wanders off. The mannequins draw lots for the head and the winner attaches it to his own trunk and goes to a party given by the owner of a big automobile company.

All these absurd phenomena—the personification of the mannequins, the transformation of a mannequin into a human being, the normal functioning of a body without a head—are presented as actual occurrences.

The absurdity of the play is strengthened by the fact that the human characters, confronted with these situations, behave as if nothing unusual had happened. When the mannequin comes to the party, he is accepted there as Ribandel. The true Ribandel, headless as he is, is simply treated as an impostor. At first the servants think he is a party-goer in costume returning from a masquerade:

Где же это вы себе такой замечательный костюм выкопали? (p. 82)

Наверное, с какого-нибудь маскарада. Мало ли таких, нахлеставшихся до чортиков, бродят утром по городу и никак не могут попасть домой. На то ведь у них и карнавал. (p. 85)

Then they blame the stranger for drinking too much and "losing his head." Here Jasieński reactivates an idiom, "poterîat' golovu," which literally means "to lose one's head," its idiomatic usage suggesting, however, a person befuddled with drink:

Идите-ка, поищите свою голову, да подставьте ее под кран. Может, вам это поможет немного. (p. 85)

Хорош гусь, а? Первый раз в жизни вижу до такой степени нахлебавшегося. (p. 83)

Such a reaction was expected by the mannequins, who were convinced that the headless person would be treated as a drunkard:

Без головы пусть бежит куда хочет. Может болтать хоть до утра, все равно ему никто теперь не поверит. Подумают, что потерял голову по пьяной лавочке. Не примут его трепотни всерьез. (p. 32)

All the above examples reflect a play on the primary and secondary meanings of a popular idiom, and in a sense we could speak of the "textural grotesque," the intentional distortion of language which strengthens the absurdity of the play.⁶

The grotesque is coupled in Bal manekenov with realistic, concrete details. In the first act Jasieński "translates" the fantastic into the ordinary by supplying the exact place and time of the action—Thursday, January 17th in a Paris fashion salon. He drops names like

"Samaritaine," "Philippe et Gaston," "Cherlitte," well-known in the world of Parisian department stores and fashion houses, and introduces Mr. Ribandel as a member of the French Socialist Party and the League for the Defense of Human Rights, and as a Member of Parliament.

Real-life situations are at the centre of the action in the second and third acts of the play. At a party given by Mr. Arnaux, two competing factory owners try to gain Ribandel's support to avert a strike. They offer him money and promise the affection of their wives and daughters. But the mannequin, unfamiliar with the human world, upsets their plans, and at the same time violates the conventions of human behaviour.

Thus the confrontation of the mannequins with the human world was needed to bring out in full relief the hypocrisy of the capitalist world. Bal manekenov is a pungent satire on Social Democrats who are actually puppets in the hands of big industrialists.

The world of capitalist industry had to be destroyed, believed Jasieński, and he expressed his conviction in the closing monologue of the play. The mannequin has become so frustrated with the human world that it is with great relief that he meets the true Mr. Ribandel. Without delay he returns the head and leaves this strange, incomprehensible world. Upon leaving, he delivers a monologue laying open

the idea of the play—the inevitability of the revolution that will destroy this hypocritical and unjust society:

Выиграл голову—обрадовался. Думал—клад нашел. А ну вас с вашей головой! Теперь-то я знаю, для чего она вам нужна. Не напрасно мы решили отрезать ее этому фрунту. Да чтож? Всем вам разве отрежешь? Ножниц не хватает. Да и не наше это дело. Придут такие, которые это сделают лучше нас. Мы думали, что вы нас только допекали. Оказывается, есть еще кому с вами рассчитаться. Повидимому, не этот раз взялись за вас не на шутку. Долго вам ждать не придется! (p. 109)

Bal manekenov was published in 1931, at the time when the RAPP critics insisted that the only style of proletarian literature should be psychological realism, excluding the use of fantasy, hyperbole and caricature. Fortunately for Bruno Jasieński, his play received enthusiastic support from a prominent figure, Anatolii Lunacharskiĭ, who wrote an introduction to the first edition. Lunacharskiĭ defended Jasieński's use of the fantastic as an excellent means of transmitting political satire, holding that this kind of unrealistic distortion "allowed the author to show those qualities of the represented phenomena he wanted to emphasize." To reproach Jasieński for artistic deformation, warned Lunacharskiĭ, would be like "picking holes in a fat goose":

Но тот сравнительно небольшой материал, который приводит в данном случае Ясенский для реальной характеристики своих буржуа и своих социалистов, необыкновенно выигрывает тем, что он показан нам в неожиданном зеркале, ирреально искажающем

пропорции, но зато великолепно подчеркивающим как раз те черты изображаемого, которые автор хотел нам показать возможно более выпукло.⁷

Jasieński's next grotesque work, "Nos" (The Nose), was written in 1936 and published in the pages of the newspaper Izvestia.⁸ Jasieński openly admitted Gogol's influence by borrowing the title and by introducing a motto taken from Gogol's story:

Но что страннее, что непонятнее всего, — это то, как авторы могут брать подобные сюжеты.

. . . А все, однако же, как поразмыслишь, во всем этом, право, есть что-то. Кто что ни говори, а подобные происшествия бывают на свете, — редко, но бывают.⁹

As suggested by the motto, Gogol's "The Nose" attracted Jasieński with its bizarre plot centring around the disappearance of the nose from the face of a young Petersburg clerk, Kovalev. Jasieński borrowed the central motif from Gogol, but introduced a number of modifications. The protagonist's nose does not disappear, rather it changes drastically in shape, from "perfectly straight, a little fleshy and bulgy at the end" into "a large, hooked nose of the Semitic type." This change has far-reaching consequences, since the nose belongs to Professor Kallenbruck, an outstanding German anthropologist, author of an anti-Semitic theory of the influence of the shape of the nose on the psychological character of Jewry. According to his book, The Endogenic Minus-Variants of Jewry:

По сравнению с идеальной прямизной греко-нордического

носа семитский нос, — в этом не могло быть сомнений, — представлял собой явную патологическую деформацию. С течением веков она утратила свой субъективно-патологический характер и превратилась в один из генотипически обусловленных расовых признаков. Влияние этой деформации на склад ума и психологические особенности еврейства было фактом вполне наглядным и не требовало особых доказательств. (p. 189)

The non-realistic, bizarre plot is combined in "Nos" with realistic, concrete details. Jasieński offers an accurate description of Germany in the 1930's, down to such realistic details as the names of Fascist organizations or references to Fascist newspapers. He juxtaposes Kallenbrück's pseudo-scientific theory with the existing anti-Semitic theories elaborated by Hans Günther and Hans Stecker, and frequently quotes from their works on the subject.

The fantastic supposition is the starting point of the action in "Nos." The effect of absurdity is further strengthened by the coexistence of the realistic with the fantastic. At first the reader is confronted with a series of absurd situations—the sudden transformation of the nose, the visit of a person killed a few years before, the trip to the genealogical garden—none of which are susceptible to any realistic or rational explanation. The introduction of the dream motif changes the situation drastically: all these strange, absurd occurrences have happened to Kallenbrück in his nightmarish dream.

With the protagonist's awakening the action passes from the realm of the fantastic into the realm of the actual,

but the events that follow only confirm the nightmarish dream. While delivering a lecture on "The Semitic Nose as One of the Inherited Minus-Variants of Jewry," Professor Kallenbruck discovers to his horror that his nose actually has changed its shape. Once more the reader is given a rational explanation. The epilogue suggests that Kallenbruck lost his reason and was committed to a lunatic asylum.

But the epilogue also mentions a secret investigation that proved the Jewish lineage of many prominent Nazis. This information forces the reader to recall the insidious plan of the Jewish Council to bribe archivists to add some Jewish ancestors to all Germans, starting with the most distinguished National-Democrats. Here Jasieński returns to the fantastic plane of his story, thus refusing to draw a clear line between the real and the fantastic.

Exactly the same device was employed by Gogol, who intentionally bewildered his readers as to the credibility of the events depicted in his story. At the beginning of the epilogue, the narrator seemed to question the propriety of writers choosing such fantastic plots, but then he reassured the reader that "such things do happen, rarely, to be sure, but they happen." Gogol deliberately discarded the dream motif that was used as the framework and the motivation for the otherwise absurd phenomena in an earlier version of "The Nose":

Впрочем все это, что ни описано здесь, виделось майору во сне. И когда он проснулся, то в такую пришел радость, что бросился плясать в одной рубашке.¹⁰

The grotesque affected not only the substance of Jasieński's story, but also its stylistic treatment. The effect of absurdity is strengthened by a certain tension between the dramatic story and the jocular manner of presentation. This humorous tone is apparent from the first lines, which characterize the protagonist as a distinguished scholar of "anthropology, comparative 'raciology' and race psychology." The neologism "raciology" (rasovedenie) conveys the author's sarcastic attitude towards his hero and the discipline he represents. Jasieński scoffs at Kallenbrück's theory with its solemn scientific pretensions. In order to adhere to exact scientific methods, the anthropologist measures his nose with a compass:

Дабы и в этом случае придерживаться в описании лишь точного языка науки, профессор достал из ящика скользящий циркуль, употребляемый в таких случаях антропометрами, и пошел к зеркалу, готовясь провести перед ним необходимые измерения. (p. 190)

The humorous tone continues in the episode describing the transformation of Kallenbrück's nose. The narrator speaks of "an uninvited nose which does not want to give up the place it has taken a fancy to." The seriousness of the situation is contradicted by an image of a snotty nose which misinterprets the professor's gesture and blows a snot:

Профессор еще раз подошел к зеркалу и с отчаянием рванул двумя пальцами бог весть откуда взявшийся

незванный нос. Нос даже не дрогнул, видимо и не думая разлучаться с облюбованным местом на лице профессора.

Более того, приняв прикосновение пальцев Калленбрука за естественный простонародный жест, он добродушно выпустил две сопли, . . . (pp. 190-191)

The humour reaches its height in the description of the Jewish Council, attended by Kallenbruck. The characterization of the twelve Jewish sages is based on caricature, which ludicrously distorts a given feature. The sages are depicted as decrepit men whose faces are covered with hair growing from their ears and noses, not to mention their long beards, corkscrew curls, and bushy eyebrows that look like a pair of mustaches growing above the eyes:

У евреев были седые бороды до пояса и пейсы, длинные, как растянутые пружины. . . .

Волосы росли у него из ушей и из носа, седые как полынь, и буйные белые брови, ниспадавшие на глаза, казались второй парой усов, выросших по ошибке над глазами. (p. 202)

The Jewish elders behave like stage puppets. They leave the table to sing a couplet, act out its meaning, dance, and as if by command they return to the table:

При виде профессора Калленбрука все двенадцать старцев с неожиданной в их возрасте резвостью вскочили с мест и спели хором. . . . Кончив петь, они проделали челюстями несколько прожорливых движений и лязгнули зубами, образно показывая, как будет происходить это съедение всего мира за одним ужином. Затем, проплясав на месте несколько тактов, старцы, как по команде, снова уселись за стол и погрузились в суровое молчание. (p. 202)

They listen politely to Kallenbruck's story, promising to help him provided he agrees to stay with them. As a sign of

assent he eats a slice of matzo, made of the blood of Nazis, and is accepted as the thirteenth member of the Council. He is immediately transformed into a decrepit man, not unlike the others. Here Jasieński parodies legends propagated by the Nazis, about bloodthirsty Jewish rituals. The whole episode seems to be a parody on the traditional folk-tale motif of testing and interrogating the hero.¹¹ Professor Kallenbruck is first tested; he passes the test, and as a result he is able to propose an insidious plan of revenge.

The grotesque also affected the verbal texture of Jasieński's story. The effect of absurdity is produced by metaphors based on semantic unexpectedness, such as "profesor v serdtsakh splîunul" (the professor spat in his heart), "Kallenbruk ushel s glazami v svoï vorotnik" (Kallenbruck escaped with his eyes into his collar). The last metaphor paraphrases Gogol's description of the personified nose who "was hiding his nose in a big collar" (priñatal sovershenno liťso svoe v bol'shoï stoñachiï vorotnik).

Grotesque distortion is evident in the image of the genealogical garden, based on a play on the literal and metaphoric meanings of the idiom "genealogical tree." This "genealogical garden" consists of real trees, which show the pedigrees, i.e., the genealogical trees, of all Berliners. The shape of each tree is determined by the individual ancestral line:

Там были деревья громадные, как баобабы; были тонкие и высокие, как кипарисы; были и такие ветвистые снизу и оголенные у верхушки, что казалось, растут они вверх ногами, и были, наоборот, ощипанные снизу и кудластые наверху, как хамеропсы; были скрюченные в одну сторону, как гигантские кусты саксаула, и были шарообразные, словно подстриженные искусной рукой садовника. (p. 194)

As in the case of Bal manekenov the grotesque is used in "Nos" for satirical purposes. Jasieński built his story around a satiric supposition of what would happen if a prominent theoretician of anti-Semitism discovered his Jewish origin and became a victim of his own theory of racially inferior people. The fantastic plot allowed Jasieński to aim a blow at racism and anti-Semitism in Fascist Germany.

Such a didactic use of the grotesque was in full agreement with the theory of Socialist Realism, which recognized only the satirical usage of the grotesque. The shaft of satire, according to Socialist Realism, should be directed against the vices of bourgeois society, rather than against the shortcomings of Soviet life. In conformity with these requirements, Jasieński utilized the grotesque only to condemn evils of the capitalist system. When it came to the affirmation of Soviet society Jasieński adopted the popular Socialist-Realist models of the industrial novel.

CONCLUSION

To evaluate Bruno Jasieński's literary career is not an easy task. He was both poet and prose writer. He was a Futurist as well as a Socialist Realist. He was a bilingual writer whose name belongs to two different literatures.

On the surface, Jasieński might seem inconsistent and contradictory. After all, poetry is very different from prose, each having internal laws of its own. Equally disparate are Futurism and Socialist Realism, the former insisting on the autonomy of art and concerned with the poetic word, the latter conceiving art as a form of social consciousness whose function is to reflect objective reality and to show its inner contradictions. Because of the cognitive and educational functions, realism is considered by Socialist Realism the best artistic method, while Futurism has a strong distaste for realistic art and advocates the principle of creative distortion and the necessity of literary change and novelty.

Yet there was an inner coherence in Jasieński's transition from Futurism to Socialist Realism, from poetry to prose. From the very beginning he was aware of the social tasks facing literature. In his first Futurist manifesto "Do narodu polskiego" he claimed that the "sporadic and isolated reform of art in abstract isolation from life itself will prove futile, fruitless and idle." While

challenging his colleagues to "reform life," he himself was undecided about the kind of social changes which should take place. The decision came very shortly, when Jasieński became involved in the Communist movement. He adopted the revolutionary ideology and proclaimed the slogans of the proletarian revolution. From "engaged" literature it was but a step towards Socialist Realism requiring literature "to depict reality in its revolutionary development," that is, to reflect the contradiction of social development and the future directions of its evolution." Jasieński took this step after coming to the Soviet Union, and adjusted his works to the requirements of the theory of Socialist Realism.

Jasieński's growing concern for utilizing literature for propaganda purposes was responsible for his switch from poetry to prose. He began his literary career as a poet, sharing the Futurist belief in the superior evocative power of the poetic word. He continued to write poetry in his "engaged" period; both Pieśń o głodzie and Słowo o Jakubie Szeli are long poems. He switched to prose in Palę Paryż, convinced that prose was more communicative and therefore more effective as "a weapon of the class struggle." The same conviction was held by Soviet writers, if the relative amounts of prose and poetry written in the 1920's are any indication. But Jasieński came to these conclusions independently, even before he moved to the Soviet Union.

Jasieński's switch to prose proved permanent. With the exception of Bal manekenov, all his works written in the 1930's are novels or short stories. The reasons for that were twofold: ideological and practical. The practical reason followed from his decision to write in Russian. Prose, much more than poetry, would tolerate his imperfect knowledge of the language, and Jasieński's Russian was probably somewhat faulty.

As a bilingual writer Jasieński made a contribution to the development of two literatures. His importance to Polish literature stems from his elaboration of the Futurist aesthetic programme, and his application of these principles to his poetry. As a Futurist poet, he helped to abolish the aesthetic canons of *Młoda Polska*, and to elaborate new forms of artistic expression. It must be said that, in comparison with the Skamander group or the Cracow *Awangarda*, Jasieński was a lesser talent. His attachment to Futurism was so strong that at times the formal experiment took over all else, to the detriment of the poem as a whole.

Jasieński's Futurism needs to be evaluated not only for its significance in the history of Polish literature, but even more as a necessary stage in his development as a Socialist writer. By bringing together a Futurist form with a revolutionary ideology, Jasieński was able to produce great poetry. Pieśń o głodzie, written under the influence

of Mañakovskii, is a truly revolutionary poem, offering a vision of the revolution in an avant-garde form. Słowo o Jakubie Szeli, a fascinating story of the peasant rebellion, successfully combines Futurist poetics with the Polish folklore tradition. With these two poems and the novel Pałę Paryż, Jasieński made a significant contribution to Polish proletarian literature.

Jasieński's place in Soviet literature is secure, thanks to his Chelovek meniâet kozhu, one of the best industrial novels written in the Soviet Union in the 1930's. The novel is equal to those of Gladkov, Leonov, Kataev and Erenburg, its originality lying in the use of an engaging plot, local colour and a highly metaphoric style. Even as a Socialist Realist, Jasieński did not give up his unique style of writing, which incorporated the poetic with the prosaic. He continued to utilize the fantastic and the unusual, which he considered a legitimate part of Socialist Realism. Thus he always preserved certain elements of Futurist poetics, thus escaping in part at least the strictures of Soviet literary doctrine.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹Zysman is the name quoted by Edward Balcerzan in his introduction to Bruno Jasieński, Utwory poetyckie, manifesty, szkice (Wrocław: 1972), p. 4, as well as by Polski Słownik Biograficzny, XI (Wrocław: 1964), 27. A different name is given by Słownik Współczesnych Pisarzy Polskich (Warszawa: 1964), II, 32, namely Zyskind.

²There is a certain confusion as to the date of the establishment of "Katarynka." According to Tytus Czyżewski, "Mój Futuryzm," Zwrotnica, No. 6 (1923), he was approached by Bruno Jasieński in 1917. This is obviously a mistake, since Jasieński was at that time in Moscow. A more reliable date is given in Anatol Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969), p. 25, in which according to the reminiscences of Jasieński's brother, Jerzy, the club was organized in 1919.

³The Futurist public appearances took place not only in Cracow and Warsaw, but also in Wilno, Łódź and Zakopane. Cf. Jasieński's recollections of Futurist activities in his preface to Nogi Izoldy Morgan (Kraków: 1923).

⁴The most important manifestoes were "Tak" (1919) and "Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski" (1920), published by the Warsaw group, and four manifestoes that appeared in a publication of the Cracow Futurists: Jednodniówka futurystów (Kraków: 1921).

⁵Jasieński wrote in "Futuryzm polski (bilans)," Zwrotnica, No. 6 (1923): "Futuryzm jest formą świadomości zbiorowej, którą należy przewyciężyć. Ja już futurystą nie jestem podczas gdy wy wszyscy jesteście futurystami."

⁶Bruno Jasieński, "Coś w rodzaju autobiografii," in Utwory poetyckie, manifesty, szkice (Wrocław: 1972), p. 249.

⁷Jasieński was a chief editor of Kultura Mas from 1929 until 1930 when he was replaced by Jan Nejman. This was a result of serious disagreement on the question of the possibility of the development of a Polish proletarian literature in the USSR. Jasieński was one of the very few members of the Polish Section of the VOAPP, who believed that a Polish proletarian literature could be created only in Poland itself, not abroad. His views were considered reactionary and labeled as "national-opportunistic." Cf. "Ku pierwszemu wszechzwiązkowemu," Kultura Mas, No. 1 (1931), p. 9. For detailed information on Kultura Mas see Krystyna

Sierocka, Z dziejów czasopiśmiennictwa polskiego w ZSRR: Kultura Mas 1929-1937 (Warszawa: 1963), and Marian Stępień, Zagadnienia literackie w publicystyce polonii radzieckiej (Wrocław: 1968).

⁸Before becoming the chief editor of Literatura mirovoi revoliutsii Jasiński was on the editorial board of Vestnik innostrannoï literatury (1929-1930). Literatura mirovoi revoliutsii was published in the years 1931-1932. Jasiński was released from his duties as its chief editor at the end of 1932 and replaced by S. S. Dinamov. The new editors published only one more issue of Literatura before it was discontinued and replaced by Internatsionalnaïa literatura. A detailed analysis of the periodicals published by the MBRP (International Agency of Revolutionary Literature) is given in L. P. Lanskiĭ, "Periodicheskie izdaniia MBRL i MORP-a," Literaturnoe nasledstvo, LXXXI (Moskva: 1969), 545-605.

⁹Zagovor ravnodushnykh was first published in Novyi mir, Nos. 5-7 (1956).

¹⁰The date of Jasiński's death is not certain. Balcerzan gives December 16, 1939—"Wstęp," Bruno Jasiński, Utwory poetyckie, manifesty, szkice (Wrocław: 1972). Berzin' gives October 20, 1941—"Bruno Iasenskiĭ," in Bruno Iasenskiĭ, Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957).

¹¹In the Soviet Union appeared a two-volume edition of Jasiński's prose, Izbrannye proizvedeniia (Moskva: 1957). In Poland the publishing house "Czytelnik" began the publication of all Jasiński's works: Pałę Paryż appeared in 1957, Utwory poetyckie in 1960, Człowiek zmienia skórę in 1961, Zmowa obojętnych in 1962, and Nogi Izoldy Morgan in 1969.

¹²See Grzegorz Lasota, "Początek drogi Brunona Jasińskiego," Przegląd Kulturalny, No. 7 (1956); "Bruno Jasiński i rewolucyjny teatr," Przegląd Kulturalny, No. 47 (1957); "Człowiek zmienia skórę," Twórczość, No. 2 (1958). Also Anatol Stern, "Bruno Jasiński—poeta rewolucji," Gazeta Robotnicza, No. 57 (1956); "Poeta buntu," Wiedza i Życie, No. 7 (1956); "Wspomnienia o Brunonie Jasińskim," Nowa Kultura, No. 9 (1956). In 1969 appeared A. Stern's monograph Bruno Jasiński (Warszawa: 1969).

¹³Anna Berzin' wrote a preface to the Soviet edition of Jasiński's works as well as an introductory note to his unfinished novel Zagovor ravnodushnykh, Novyi mir, No. 5 (1956), p. 71.

¹⁴Anatol Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969).

¹⁵Edward Balcerzan, Styl i poetyka twórczości dwujęzycznej Brunona Jasieńskiego: Z zagadnień teorii przekładu (Wrocław: 1968).

¹⁶Marian Rawiński, "U genezy wczesnej twórczości poetyckiej Brunona Jasieńskiego," O wzajemnych powiązaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich (Wrocław: 1969), pp. 196-228; "'Słowo o Jakubie Szeli' Brunona Jasieńskiego wobec folkloru," Pamiętnik Literacki, 62 (1971), 81-118.

¹⁷B. I. Pruttsev, "Tvorcheskii put' Bruno Ĭasenskogo," Diss. Moskovskii gos. pedagogicheskii institut imeni V. I. Lenina 1966.

¹⁸N. G. Shafer, "Romany Bruno Ĭasenskogo," Diss. Kazakhskii pedagogicheskii institut imeni Abaia 1968; E. M. Khoroshukhin, "Khudozhestvennaia proza Bruno Ĭasenskogo," Diss. Leningradskii pedagogicheskii institut imeni Gertsena 1969.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹Ryszard Matuszewski and Seweryn Pollak, "Główne nurty rozwojowe liryki dwudziestolecia," Przegląd Humanistyczny, 6 (1969), 39.

²Zdrój was published in the years 1917-1922. Jan Stur's article "Czego chcemy" appeared in Zdrój, No. 5-6 (1920). For a detailed study of "Zdrój" see E. Polanowski, "Ekspresjonizm poznański," Diss. Poznań Univ. 1967; and J. J. Lipski, "Expressionism in Poland," Expressionism as an International Literary Phenomenon, ed. U. Weisstein (Paris: 1973), pp. 299-314.

³The name of the group originated from the name of the old building in Muchawa, a residence of Emil Zegadłowicz. In 1922 the group published the first issue of Czartak, which was intended as a regular publication. The plan did not work out and the group published two almanacs instead: Czartak: Zbór poetów w Beskidzie (Warszawa: 1925) and Czartak: Zbór poetów w Beskidzie (Warszawa: 1928). The history of the "Czartak" group was recalled by one of its members, Edward Kozikowski, "Emil Zegadłowicz i grupa Czartaka," Miedzy prawdą i plotką (Kraków: 1961). An analysis of the "Czartak" poetic programme was carried out by Jan Prokop, "Prymitywizm w kręgu Czartaka," in Problemy literatury polskiej lat 1890-1939, ed. A. Żabicki (Wrocław: 1972).

⁴Leon Chwistek, "Formizm," Formiści, No. 2 (1920). Formiści appeared irregularly. After the publication of the first issue in October 1919, there were only two more issues published the next year in April and November. A thorough study of the Formist group was given by J. Szczepańska, "Historia i program grupy 'Formiści polscy' w latach 1917-1922," Materiały do studiów i dyskusji, III-IV (1954), 201-250, and by J. Pollakówna, Formiści (Wrocław: 1972).

⁵The title of the periodical referred to the river of Troy in Wyspiański's drama Acropolis. Skamander was published in the years 1920-1928 and was resumed in 1935-1939. There exists a rich critical literature on the "Skamander" group. The most interesting works are: Michał Głowiński, "Grupa literacka a model poezji: Przykład Skamandra," Z problemów literatury polskiej XX wieku, II (Warszawa: 1965); M. Głowiński, Poetyka Tuwima a polska tradycja literacka (Warszawa: 1962); K. W. Zawodziński, Wśród poetów (Kraków: 1964).

⁶After the publication of six issues in the years 1922 and 1923 Zwrotnica was suspended, to reappear in 1926-1927.

⁷Most of Peiper's theoretical articles were published in Zwrotnica, "Punkt wyjścia," in No. 1 (1922), "Miasto, masa, maszyna," in No. 2 (1922), and "Metafora teraźniejszości," in No. 3 (1922). They appeared later in book form, entitled Tędy (Warszawa: 1930). Earlier Peiper published a book Nowe usta: Odczyt o poezji (Lwów: 1925). In the first phase of Awangarda development Peiper had a monopolistic privilege to formulate the programmatic propositions. The theoretical pronouncements of other Awangarda poets were in full agreement with his ideas. Later, this homogeneous system was replaced by diversified opinions of individual members, who often disagreed with Peiper's assumptions and postulated their own solutions. Cf. Jan Brzękowski, Poezja integralna (Warszawa: 1933), "Integralizm w czasie," Pion, No. 39 (1937), "Wyobraźnia wyzwolona," Pion, No. 18 (1939), and Julian Przyboś, "Idea rygoru," Zwrotnica, No. 12 (1927). There is an excellent monograph on the Awangarda aesthetic programme, written by Janusz Sławiński, Koncepcja języka poetyckiego Awangardy Krakowskiej (Wrocław: 1965), as well as studies on the leading poets of Awangarda: Stanisław Jaworski, U podstaw Awangardy: Tadeusz Peiper, pisarz i teoretyk (Kraków: 1968), Jerzy Kwiatkowski, Świat poetycki Juliana Przybosa (Warszawa: 1972).

⁸In our review of the most important poetic schools in the 1920's we restricted ourselves to the years 1917-1923, i.e., the years of the origin and development of Polish Futurism. Out of necessity, we had to disregard all the poetic schools that established themselves after 1923—"Reflektor," "Trzy salwy," "Kwadryga," "Żagary." The information about these schools could be found in R. Matuszewski and S. Pollak, "Główne nurty rozwojowe liryki dwudziestolecia," Przegląd Humanistyczny, 6 (1961), 39-59; Jan Witan, "Poezja polska między wojnami," Polonistyka, No. 12 (1969), pp. 1-14; S. Barańczak, "Ugrupowania poetyckie w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym," Nurt, No. 1 (1968), pp. 22-23.

⁹Kordian Gacki's reviews of Futurist poetry were published in Almanach Nowej Sztuki: "List do Anatola Sterna," No. 1 (1924), pp. 25-26; "'Ziemia na lewo,'" No. 2 (1925), pp. 49-50.

¹⁰The first issue of Nowa Sztuka appeared in November 1921 and named as its editors Anatol Stern and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. The name of the latter disappeared from the second issue, published in February 1922; the editorial board included Leon Chwistek, Tadeusz Peiper and Anatol Stern.

¹¹The most important Futurist "jednodniówki" were: Gga: Pierwszy almanach poezji futurystycznej. Dwumiesięcznik prymitywistów (Warszawa: December 1920), Jednodniówka futurystów (Kraków: June 1921), Nuż w bżuhu: Druga jednodniówka futurystów (Kraków: November 1921).

¹²"Prymitywiści do narodów świata i Polski," in Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach futurystyczny (Warszawa: 1920), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, II, 170-172. An attempt is made here to reproduce the original typography of the Polish manifestoes, in which a daring variety of typefaces appeared.

¹³Tristan Tzara, "Le Manifeste Dada 1918," Dada, No. 3 (1918), p. 4.

¹⁴Jan Mukařovsky, "Standard Language and Poetic Language," in A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, comp. J. Vachek (Bloomington: 1964), p. 22.

¹⁵F. T. Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo," Le Figaro, 20 February 1909, rpt. in M. Gambillo-Drudi and M. Flori, Archivi del Futurismo (Rome: 1958), p. 17.

¹⁶"Poshchëchina obshchestvennomu vkusu," in Poshchëchina obshchestvennomu vkusu (Moskva: 1912), rpt. in V. Markov, ed., Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov (München: 1967), p. 50.

¹⁷F. T. Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo," p. 17.

¹⁸F. T. Marinetti, "Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista," in Manifesti del Futurismo (Milano: 1914), p. 94.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰These inconsistencies and contradictions of Futurism were pointed out by Helena Zaworska in her book O nową sztukę: Polskie programy artystyczne lat 1917-1922 (Warszawa: 1963), p. 100.

²¹Sadok sudeĩ, II (Petersburg: 1913), rpt. in Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, pp. 51-53.

²²Alekseĩ Kruchënykh, "Novye puti slova," Troe (Petersburg: 1913), rpt. in Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, p. 65.

²³Alekseĭ Kruchënykh, "Deklaratsiia slova kak takovogo (1913), rpt. in Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, p. 63.

²⁴It seems almost certain that the Polish Futurists were familiar with the basic postulates of both Italian and Russian Futurism. Marinetti's manifestoes were translated into Polish as early as the fall of 1909, see I. Grabowski, "Najnowsze prądy w literaturze europejskiej: Futuryzm," Świat, No. 2 (1909). The Russian manifestoes were probably read in the original since all the Polish poets knew Russian.

²⁵F. T. Marinetti, "Manifesto del Futurismo," p. 17.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Cf. Maĭakovskii's evaluation of Russian Futurism in "Za chto boretsiâ Lef," in Sobranie sochineniĭ (Moskva: 1955), XII, 41.

²⁸M. Wierzbiński, "Głupota czy zbrodnia," Rzeczpospolita, 13 December 1921.

²⁹Karol Irzykowski's article "Plagiatowy charakter przełomów literackich w Polsce" appeared simultaneously in three papers--Kurier Lwowski, Nos. 25, 31 (1922), Robotnik, Nos. 29, 31 (1922), and Naprzód, Nos. 26, 28 (1922). Irzykowski's article initiated a long and offensive polemic. Anatol Stern wrote a reply "Emeryt meteoryzmu. Z powodu ostatniego artykułu Irzykowskiego pt. 'Plagiatowy charakter przełomów literackich w Polsce', czyli jeszcze o wiatrologii," Skamander, No. 17 (1922). Bruno Jasieński responded with an article published in Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny, No. 37 (1922).

³⁰Stefan Żeromski, Snobizm i postęp (Warszawa: 1923), pp. 45-46.

³¹Helena Zaworska, O nową sztukę, p. 261.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Bruno Jasieński, "Futuryzm polski (bilans)," Zwrotnica, No. 6 (1923), rpt. in Andrzej Lam, ed., Polska awangarda poetycka (Kraków: 1969), II, 390.

²Jerzy Jankowski, "Splon lotnika," Widnokrąg, No. 22 (1914); "Maggi," Widnokrąg, No. 25 (1914).

³We agree with Krystyna Pomorska that the basis for the concept of a poetic school is adherence of the individual members to the programme, and not the mutual similarity. See Krystyna Pomorska, Russian Formalist Theory and Its Poetic Ambiance (The Hague: 1968), p. 47.

⁴The problem of Polish Futurist poetics still awaits thorough investigation. The existing critical studies of the Futurist movement in Poland deal primarily with its theoretical programme, and not with its poetic practice. Cf. Helena Zaworska, O nową sztukę: Polskie programy artystyczne lat 1917-1922 (Kraków: 1963); and Andrzej Lam, Polska awangarda poetycka: Programy lat 1917-1923 (Kraków: 1969). There is, however, a number of articles discussing the unique individual qualities of different Futurist poets. See J. Sławiński, "Poezje Młodożeńca," Twórczość, 15, No. 5 (1959), 21-25; K. Wyka, "Z lawy metafor," Rzecz wyobraźni (Warszawa: 1959), pp. 323-345; J. Lipski, "O poezji Tytusa Czyżewskiego," Twórczość, 16, No. 6 (1960), 63-68.

⁵"Orchestration" is a translation of a Russian term "instrumentovka" given by René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York: 1956), p. 159. "Instrumentovka" was a key concept in the theory of Russian Formalists, who regarded phonetic texture as the underlying principle of poetic language. Lev ĭakubinskiĭ differentiated poetic language from "practical" language as one where the sounds are deliberately experienced; see his "O zvukakh poeticheskogo ĭazyka," Poëtika (Petrograd: 1919). A perceptive investigation of sound-repetition in poetic speech was carried out by Osip Brik in "Zvukovye povtory," Poëtika (Petrograd: 1919). Roman Jakobson, fascinated with Khlebnikov's "zaum'" poetry, claimed that poetic speech tends towards its ultimate limit—the phonetic word, Noveĭshaĭa russkaĭa poëziĭa (Praha: 1921), p. 68.

⁶Cf. the remarks by Rosa Clough, Futurism: The Story of a Modern Art Movement (New York: 1961), p. 50.

⁷The Russian Futurists' orientation towards consonant instrumentation was mentioned by V. Markov, Russian Futurism: A History (Berkeley: 1968), and D. Chizhevskii, "O poëzii futurizma," Novyi zhurnal, No. 73 (1963), pp. 132-169, but the most detailed account was given by Z. Folejewski, "Novelty and Convention in the Poetics of Russian Futurism Alliteration," Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of International Comparative Association (The Hague: 1966), II, 1310-1316.

⁸Stanisław Młodożeniec, "Moskwa," Kreski i futureski (Kraków: 1921), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, II, 179.

⁹Anatol Stern, "Nimfy," Nieśmiertelny tom futuryz (Warszawa: 1921).

¹⁰As Zbigniew Folejewski has pointed out, the Russian Futurists developed "semantic alliteration," where the euphonic effects were strengthened by semantic associations. The new unexpected possibilities of semantic relationship were suggested by Velimir Khlebnikov's verses "Les a lysy/ les a obezlosili, les a obezlisili." See Z. Folejewski, "Novelty and Convention," 1315.

¹¹Jasieński's onomatopoeia is much less sophisticated than the imitation of church-bells in Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer's "Dzwony," where the sound of ringing bells is depicted not by the sound of a single word, but by the sound of an entire stanza. See K. Przerwa-Tetmajer, "Dzwony," Wiersze polskie wybrane, comp. M. Brydzewski (London: 1948), p. 195.

¹²Bruno Jasieński, "Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej," Polska awangarda poetycka, p. 217.

¹³Julian Przyboś was not unique in this regard. Jan Brzękowski utilized the same device in: "w dole zaszło słońce, słońsze — jak krew słone," "jesteś sam samotny samiec w wielkim mieście." All examples are taken from Janusz Sławiński, Koncepcja języka poetyckiego awangardy krakowskiej (Wrocław: 1965), p. 61.

¹⁴Edward Stankiewicz, "Poetic and Non-Poetic Language," Poetics, Poetyka, Poëtika (Warszawa: 1961), p. 15.

¹⁵The presence of the unusual rhymes in the poetic practice of the Skamander poets was for Julian Krzyżanowski a sign of their novelty in this field, Dzieje literatury polskiej (Warszawa: 1969), p. 575. But, as Kazimierz Nitsch's study has shown, the number of inaccurate rhymes in

the "Skamander" poetry was rather small—they occupy 27, 12 and 5 per cent in the poetry of Tuwim, Słonimski and Wierzyński, respectively. See K. Nitsch, "O nowych rymach," Wybór pism polonistycznych (Wrocław: 1954), I, 33-77.

¹⁶Alekseĭ Kruchënykh, "Ispugannaĭa meshchanskaĭa pesnĭa," Anfänge des russischen Futurismus, ed. D. Tschizhevskij (Wiesbaden: 1964), p. 84.

¹⁷See Alekseĭ Kruchënykh and Velimir Khlebnikov, "Slovo kak takovoe" (1913), rpt. in V. Markov, ed., Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov (München: 1967), p. 55.

¹⁸Aleksander Wat, "Namopanik Barwistanu," Nieśmiertelny tom futuryz (Warszawa: 1921).

¹⁹Julian Tuwim, Słopiewnie (Poznań: 1935).

²⁰The concept of "disautomatization" was developed by Victor Shklovskii in his "Iskusstvo kak priëm," Poëtika (Petrograd: 1919). On the level of the representation of reality it stood for divergence from the actual. On the level of language, it meant a departure from current linguistic usage. On the plane of literary dynamics, it implied a deviation from prevailing artistic tradition. Cf. Victor Erlich, Russian Formalism: History-Doctrine (New York: 1965).

²¹"Poshchëchina obshchestvennomu vkusu," in Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, p. 50.

²²See thorough studies on Maĭakovskii's neologisms by V. Vinokur, Maĭakovskii — novator ĭazyka (Moskva: 1943), and by Assya Humesky, Majakovskij and His Neologisms (New York: 1964).

²³Velimir Khlebnikov, "Zaklĭatie smekhom," Sobranie sochinenii (München: 1968), II, 35. Khlebnikov's inventiveness in the field of neology was discussed in Roman Jakobson, Noveĭshaĭa russkaĭa poëziĭa (Praha: 1921); V. Gofman, "ĭazykovoe novatorstvo Khlebnikova," Zvezda, No. 6 (1935), pp. 209-236; V. Markov, "O Khlebnikove," Grani, No. 22 (1954).

²⁴Aleksander Wat, "Żywoty," Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach futurystyczny (Warszawa: 1920), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, p. 170.

²⁵Stanisław Młodożeniec, "Futurobnia," Kreski i futureski (Kraków: 1921), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, p. 179.

²⁶The analogical fascination with compounds in Italian Futurism had a totally different effect, since compounds are quite unusual for Italian. Cf. the remarks of Rose Clough, Futurism: The Story of a Modern Art Movement (New York: 1961), p. 162.

²⁷Julian Tuwim, "Wiosna," Sokrates tańczący (Warszawa: 1920), rpt. in Wiersze zebrane (Warszawa: 1971), I, 140-142.

²⁸The problem of the influence of everyday language on Maiakovskii's poetry was discussed by V. Trenin and N. Khardzhiev, "Poëtika rannego Maiakovskogo," Literaturnyi kritik, No. 2 (1935), pp. 171-189; and by V. Gofman, "O iazyke Maiakovskogo," Zvezda, No. 12 (1936), pp. 197-215.

²⁹Tadeusz Peiper, "Metafora teraźniejszości," Zwrotnica, No. 3 (1922), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, p. 325.

³⁰Kazimierz Wyka, "Z lawy metafor," Rzecz wyobraźni (Warszawa: 1959), p. 329.

³¹Ibid., 338.

³²According to the Surrealist theory, the poetic image was not to be directed by thoughts, but by creative intuition. The writer was supposed to listen to the voice of the subconscious and to write down whatever it dictated. As a result the surrealist metaphor was composed of elements that had no logical relationship with each other. It was based on divergence and contradiction. For a detailed account of the Surrealist metaphor see A. Balakian, Surrealism: The Road to the Absolute (New York: 1959), and J. H. Matthews, An Introduction to Surrealism (Pennsylvania: 1965).

³³Terence Hawkes, Metaphor (London: 1972) pp. 2-3.

³⁴See the investigations of twentieth-century Polish prosody by Z. Kopczyńska and R. Mayenowa, eds., Sylabizm (Wrocław: 1956); M. Dłuska and T. Kuryś, eds., Sylabotonizm (Wrocław: 1957); M. Giergielewicz, Introduction to Polish Versification (Philadelphia: 1970).

³⁵Tadeusz Peiper, "Rytm nowoczesny," Kwadryga, No. 3-4 (1929-1930); "Droga rymu," Przegląd Współczesny, No. 91 (1929).

³⁶Julian Przyboś, "Rytm i rym," Linia, No. 2 (1931); "Katoryniarze i strofkarze," Linia, No. 1 (1931); "Formy nowej liryki," Linia, No. 3 (1931).

³⁷Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińska, "Wiersz awangardowy XX lecia międzywojennego," Pamiętnik Literacki, 56 (1965), 424-446.

³⁸The slogan of "words at liberty" was put forward by the Italian Futurists. At first they turned to free verse, but even free verse, maintaining syntax and producing rhythmic responses seemed to them too inadequate for modern poetry, so they went one step further and proclaimed the principle of "parole in libertà," i.e., the poetic composition free from metrics, syntax and punctuation. See Filippo Marinetti, "Manifesto tecnico della letteratura," Manifesti del Futurismo (Milano: 1914).

³⁹Tytus Czyżewski, "Hymn do maszyny mego ciała," Jednodźwięk futurystów (Kraków: 1921), rpt. in Polska awangarda poetycka, p. 225.

⁴⁰Among the Russian Futurists Vasiliĭ Kamenskiĭ was the most enthusiastic exponent of typographic devices; his "Zheleznobetonnye poem," published in Pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov, No. 1-2 (1914), were made of different print as well as of geometrical figures and lines. Marinetti used different typographic devices in Zang-tumb-tumb (Milano: 1914), and emphasized that this new array of type and the variety of colours enabled him to increase the expressive power of words.

⁴¹Tytus Czyżewski, "Mechaniczny ogród," Noc-Dzień: Mechaniczny instynkt elektryczny (Kraków: 1922).

⁴²Bruno Jasieński, "Morze," Zwrotnica, No. 2 (1922).

⁴³Guillaume Apollinaire, Calligrammes (Paris: 1918).

⁴⁴The question of the influence of Russian Futurism on Bruno Jasieński was briefly discussed by Marian Rawiński, "U genezy wczesnej twórczości poetyckiej Brunona Jasieńskiego," O wzajemnych powiązaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich (Wrocław: 1969), pp. 196-228, and by Edward Balcerzan, Styl i poetyka twórczości dwujęzycznej Brunona Jasieńskiego: Z zagadnień teorii przekładu (Wrocław: 1968).

⁴⁵Igor Severiānin, Gromokipiāshchiĭ kubok (Moskva: 1913).

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴⁸Vladimir Maïakovskiï, "Adishche goroda," Polnoe sobranie sochineniï (Moskva: 1955), I, 55.

⁴⁹Vladimir Maïakovskiï, Oblako v shtanakh (Moskva: 1915), rpt. in Polnoe sobranie sochineniï, I, 173-196.

⁵⁰Edward Balcerzan, p. 220.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 254.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹Jerzy Jankowski, Tram wpopszek ulicy (Warszawa:1920).

²Ibid.

³Tytus Czyżewski, Pastorałki (Paryż: 1925).

⁴Ibid.

⁵Stanisław Młodożeniec, Kreski i futureski (Kraków: 1921).

⁶The Czartak poets regarded folk stylizations as the best suitable forms to express their cult of primitive life. Emil Zegadłowicz' Powsinogi beskidzkie (Wadowice: 1923) and Kolędziółki beskidzkie (Wadowice: 1923) clearly illustrate Czartak's adherence to the folklore tradition.

⁷Bruno Jasieński, Słowo o Jakubie Szeli (Paryż: 1926).

⁸Bruno Jasieński, Utwory poetyckie, manifesty, szkice (Wrocław: 1972), p. 68.

⁹See V. I. Propp, Morfologija skazki (Leningrad: 1928).

¹⁰Jasieński's condemnation of Szela to death was a means to ennoble the protagonist. In reality, Szela was just transferred to another district, where he lived for twenty more years. Jasieński's deviations from the historical truth are analyzed by Anatol Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969).

¹¹Jasieński had at his disposition several collections of Polish folk songs while writing Słowo o Jakubie Szeli. This fact was confirmed by Stanisław Brucz, who wrote in his reminiscences ". . . nazajutrz spędził pół dnia w Bibliotece Polskiej na Quai d'Orleans, aby wieczorem z tryumfującą miną podsunąć mi pod nos sporą kolekcję 'obrazów negatywnych', wynotowanych z 'Pieśni ludu polskiego w Galicji' Żegoty Paulego i bodajże z glogerowskich 'Pieśni ludu'." Quoted by Anatol Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969), p. 68.

¹²Oskar Kolberg, Dzieła wszystkie (Wrocław: 1961), II, 128.

¹³Z. Gloger, Obrzęd weselny polski z pieśniami (Warszawa: 1907), p. 104.

¹⁴Kolberg, II, 39.

¹⁵Z. Gloger, Pieśni ludu polskiego (Kraków: 1907), p. 78.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁷Kolberg, XXV, 152.

¹⁸Ibid., I, 366.

¹⁹Ibid., I, 410.

²⁰Marian Rawiński, "'Słowo o Jakubie Szeli' wobec folkloru," Pamiętnik Literacki, 62 (1971), 101-102.

²¹See J. Chrzanowski "Proba apoteozy Jakuba Szeli," Głos Narodu, 25 December 1926; W. Broniewski, "Poemat o Szeli," Wiadomości Literackie, No. 48 (1926); A. Stawar, "Słowo o Jakubie Szeli," Dźwigar, No. 1 (1927).

²²The poems in question are Vasiliĭ Kamenskiĭ's Serdtse narodnoe Sten'ka Razin (Moskva: 1918) and Sergei Esenin's Pugachëv (Moskva: 1922). It is unlikely that Jasieński knew Khlebnikov's exploitations of the Razin theme, "Razin" and "Ustrug Razina." "Razin" was written in 1920, but published only in Khlebnikov's Sobranie sochineniĭ v p'iati tomakh (Moskva: 1928-1933). "Ustrug Razina," written in 1921, appeared in a journal Lef, No. 1 (1923), not in book form.

²³In discussing Kamenskiĭ's Serdtse narodnoe Sten'ka Razin we refer to the first publication of this poem, not to his subsequent exploitations of that theme in 1927, 1932, 1939 and 1948, which are considerably different.

²⁴Sergeĭ Esenin, Pugachëv, in Sobranie sochineniĭ (Moskva: 1966), II, 164.

²⁵The question of Esenin's influence on Bruno Jasieński was discussed in W. Piotrowski, "Jesienin a Bruno Jasieński," Sprawozdania z posiedzeń PAN, Nos. 7-12 (1966), pp. 396-399, and in M. Rawiński, "U genezy wczesnej twórczości poetyckiej Brunona Jasieńskiego," O wzajemnych powiązaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich (Wrocław: 1969), pp. 196-228.

²⁶Vasiliĭ Kamenskiĭ, Sten'ka Razin (Moskva: 1916), p. 155.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹Bruno Jasieński, Je brûle Paris, L'Humanité, 14 September-13 November 1928. The text of Je brûle Paris that appeared in L'Humanité was a translation from the Polish original. The translation is very good: it faithfully reproduces not only the ideas of the original, but also its highly metaphoric style.

Equally successful was the Russian translation, which was published in Moscow in 1928.

The first Polish edition of Pałę Paryż appeared in Moscow in 1929, and was then published in Poland with a preface by Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski.

²Paul Morand's "Je brûle Moscou" was first published in Demain (April 1925), and later incorporated into L'Europe galante (Paris: 1925).

³Anatol Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969), p. 135.

⁴Paul Morand, "I Burn Down Moscow," Europe in Love, tr. G. Chapman (London: 1926), p. 17.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷It is a widespread opinion amongst the critics to consider "Je brûle Moscou" a stimulus for Pałę Paryż. See N. T. Shafer, "Stilisticheskoe svoeobrazie romana ĭasenskogo 'ĭa zhgu Parizh,'" in Filologicheskii sbornik (Alma-Ata: 1963); E. Khoroshukhin, "Kompozitsiia i sŭzhet romana Bruno ĭasenskogo 'ĭa zhgu Parizh,'" in Materialy respublikanskoĭ nauchno-teoreticheskoi konferentsii molodykh uchenykh i aspirantov (Samarkand: 1968); A. Stern, Bruno Jasieński (Warszawa: 1969).

⁸Paul Morand, "La Croisade des enfantes," L'Europe galante (Paris: 1925).

⁹Il'ĭa Ėrenburg, Trest D.E. (Berlin: 1923).

¹⁰Bruno Jasieński, Pałę Paryż (Warszawa: 1974), p. 15. This edition of Pałę Paryż will be used hereafter, unless stated otherwise.

¹¹V. Shklovskii, "Iskusstvo kak priëm," Poëtika: Sborniki po teorii poëticheskogo ĭazyka (Petrograd: 1919); Khod konia (Moscow: 1923).

¹²Knut Hamsun's Sult, which was originally published in 1890, was very popular in the 1920's. Jasieński might have read it in either the Polish or the French translation.

¹³Knut Hamsun, Hunger, tr. G. Egerton (New York: 1920), p. 94.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 64.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 139

¹⁶Anon., Review of ĴasenskiĴ: Ĵā zhgu Parizh, Oktiābr', No. 3 (1929), p. 185.

¹⁷A. K., Review of ĴasenskiĴ: Ĵā zhgu Parizh, Rezetś, No. 23 (1929), p. 1.

¹⁸Jan Wolski, "Apokalipsa wg. Brunona Jasieńskiego," Kultura Mas, Nos. 4-5 (1930), p. 66.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Palę Paryż was translated into Russian as early as 1928 and then republished in 1929 and twice in 1930. The second version appeared in 1934, and was later incorporated into ĴasenskiĴ's Izbrannye proizvedeniā v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957).

²¹Bruno ĴasenskiĴ, Izbrannye proizvedeniā v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957), I, 5.

²²Bruno Jasieński, Nogi Izoldy Morgan (Lwów: 1923), rpt. in Nogi Izoldy Morgan i inne utwory (Warszawa: 1966), pp. 15-35.

²³Edward Balcerzan, "'Nogi Izoldy Morgan' Brunona Jasieńskiego," Nowela, opowiadanie, gawęda (Warszawa: 1974), pp. 220-239.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹RAPP was officially organized in January 1925 at the First All-Union Congress of Proletarian Writers, and included Ĭu. Libedinskiĭ, V. Kirshon, D. Furmanov, A. Fadeev, V. Ermilov, and many others. RAPP was headed by the critic Leopold Averbakh, who was also chief editor of RAPP's organ Na literaturnom postu. From the beginning RAPP aspired to a leading position in Soviet letters, but its real dictatorship was not achieved until 1929. In February 1920 Maĭakovskiĭ abandoned LEF and joined RAPP. In 1931 the members of Kuzniĭsa asked the executive board of RAPP to admit them, and after lengthy negotiations, most of them were granted admission. The same decision was made by many of the Constructivists, among them V. Lugovskoiĭ, Ė. Bagritskiĭ, and I. Selvinskiĭ. More irreconcilable was the group Pereval, which cooperated closely with Krasnaĭa nov', edited by A. Voronskiĭ. Despite strong pressure from the critics belonging to RAPP, Pereval did not join them and survived as an independent organization until 1932.

For a detailed account of the literary situation at the end of the 1920's see: V. Ivanov, Formirovanie ideĭnogo edinstva sovetскоĭ literatury 1917-1932 (Moskva: 1960); A. Romanovskii, Znamenitaĭa vekha (Moskva: 1970); S. Sheshukov, Neistovye reshiteli: Iz istorii literaturnoiĭ bor'by 20-ykh godov (Moskva: 1970); H. Borland, Soviet Literary Theory and Practice During the First Five-Year Plan 1928-1932 (New York: 1950); E. J. Brown, The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature 1928-1932 (New York: 1971).

²"An Editorial," Pravda, 8 December 1929.

³"Kulturnaĭa revolĭutsiĭa i sovremennaĭa literatura: Rezolĭutsiĭa I Vsesoiĭuznogo S"ezda proletpisatelei po dokladu L. Averbakha," Na literaturnom postu, Nos. 12-14 (1928), p. 5.

⁴The slogan of "social command" had originated among the LEF members, who believed that the writer was simply a craftsman of words, who had to produce literary works satisfying the demands of his client, the proletariat, awaiting clear and factual works. "Literature of fact"—sketches, biographies, diaries—was considered the highest form of literary creation. Cf. O. Brik, "Ne teoriĭa a lozung," Pechat' i revolĭutsiĭa, No. 1 (1923); V. Maĭakovskiĭ, "Za chto boretsiĭa LEF?" Lef, No. 1 (1923). LEF's theory of social command received the approval of the RAPP leaders, for whom it was a means of enlisting literature in the

service of the First Five-Year Plan. See: H. Borland, Soviet Literary Theory and Practice During the First Five-Year Plan 1928-1932 (New York: 1950).

⁵The slogan of "tearing off the masks" was taken from Lenin's article on Leo Tolstoi, in which he spoke of Tolstoi's "tearing off the mask from reality." See: V. Lenin, "Tolstoi kak zerkalo russkoï revoliutsii," Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, 5th ed. (Moskva: 1958), XVIII, 206-213.

⁶The term "fellow-travellers" (poputchiki) referred to the non-proletarian writers who, while loyal to the Soviet state, wanted to be free to express their personal views. The fellow-travellers were not an organized group, but individual writers, such as B. Pil'niak, L. Leonov. A. Tolstoi. Sometimes the term "poputchiki" was used in regard to the writers belonging to the "Serapion Brothers," "Pereval," or "Literaturnyi Tsentr Konstruktivistov."

⁷B. Ker, "Ne poputchik, a soïuznik ili vrag," Na literaturnom postu, No. 2 (1931), pp. 39-40.

⁸"O perestroïke literaturno-khudozhestvennykh organizatsiï: Postanovlenie TsK VKP(b) ot 23 apreliã 1932," Pravda, 24 April 1932.

⁹"Ustav SSP SSSR," Pervyi Vsesoïuznyi S"ezd Sovetskikh Pisatelei: Stenograficheskii otchet (Moskva: 1934), p. 716.

¹⁰A. A. Zhdanov, "Rech'," Pervyi Vsesoïuznyi S"ezd, p. 4.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²F. Engels, "Letter to Margaret Harkness," in K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art (New York: 1947), p. 41.

¹³For a thorough presentation of the principles of Socialist Realism see: L. Timofeev, Osnovy teorii literatury (Moskva: 1955); A. I. Ovcharenko, Sotsialisticheskii realizm i sovremennyi literaturnyi profsess (Moskva: 1968); Aktualnye problemy sotsialisticheskogo realizma (Moskva: 1969); S. G. Asadullaev, Istorizm, teoriia i tipologiia sotsialisticheskogo realizma (Baku: 1969); S. M. Petrov, Vzniknovenie i formirovanie sotsialisticheskogo realizma (Moskva: 1970); H. Ermolaev, Soviet Literary Theories 1917-1934: The Genesis of Socialist Realism (Berkeley: 1963); E. Mozejko, Der sozialistischer Realismus in der Weltliteratur (München: forthcoming).

¹⁴A. Zhdanov, p. 4.

¹⁵Proletarskaia literatura was published during the years 1931-1932; its editorial board included such prominent RAPP critics as L. Averbakh, V. Ermilov, and A. Fadeev.

¹⁶The International Association of Proletarian Writers (MORP) originated in the middle of the 1920's. At first it was known as the International Agency of Revolutionary Writers (MBRP), but the Kharkov Conference changed its name to the International Association of Proletarian Writers. In 1930 MORP had seven sections—German, Hungarian, Austrian, Czech, American, Polish and Japanese—and it published four periodicals: Vestnik innostrannoï literatury, Die Linkskurve, Kultura Mas, and Sarló és Kalapács. The period 1931-1933 was the heyday of MORP development; by that time the Association had fifteen foreign sections, uniting hundreds of writers. MORP ceased to exist in 1935. For detailed information about MORP see the 81st volume of Literaturnoe nasledstvo (Moskva: 1969).

¹⁷Cf. the editorial "O kulturę mas," Kultura Mas, No. 1 (1929).

¹⁸Bruno Jasieński wrote a number of articles calling for freeing the Polish language in the Soviet Union from Russian borrowings; see: "O rewolucję językową," Kultura Mas, No. 1-2 (1929), pp. 11-13; "Twórzmy polski język proletariacki," Kultura Mas, No. 2 (1930), p. 5. In addition, Kultura Mas carried a permanent section "Chwasty językowe" (Language Weeds), pointing out the most dazzling Russicisms.

¹⁹Cf. the article discussing the results of the Conference of Polish Proletarian Writers held in Minsk in August 1930: "Wyniki zjazdu mińskiego," Kultura Mas, No. 2 (1921), p. 14.

²⁰Among the novels published in 1931 issues of Literatura mirovoï revoliutsii were: W. Hotopp's Barkas; H. Marchwitza's Sturm auf Essen; W. Bredel's Maschinenfabrik N. U. K. The proletarian poets represented in LMR were: L. Aragón, J. Becker, D. Hidas, W. Broniewski, and others.

²¹Cf. the articles: M. Gold, "Literatura sovremennoï Ameriki," LMR, No. 1 (1931); S. Stande, "Polskaia proletarskaia literatura," LMR, No. 8 (1931); G. Bakalov, "Revoliutsionnaia literatura Bolgarii," LMR, No. 10 (1931).

²²Bruno Jasenskiï, "Po naklonnoï ploskosti," Literatura mirovoï revoliutsii, No. 1 (1931), p. 99.

²³Bruno Ĭasenskiĭ, "Rech'," Sovetskaĭa literatura na novom ĕtape: Stenogramma I Plenuma Organizatsionnogo Komiteta Soiūza Sovetskikh Pisatelei (Moskva: 1933), p. 215.

²⁴It is safe to assume that Jasieński knew Russian quite well even before he moved to the Soviet Union. He undoubtedly learned Russian during his school days in Moscow from 1914 to 1918. In the 1920's he extensively translated Russian poetry into Polish. Cf. his translations of Sergeĭ Esenin published in Zwrotnica, No. 3 (1923), and of Maĭakovskiĭ in Włodzimierz Majakowski, Wybór poezyj (Warszawa: 1927). But he needed some time to perfect his Russian before he could start writing in it.

In addition to Russian, Jasieński knew well French and German, see the testimony of A. Hidas in his introduction to Bruno Ĭasenskiĭ, Slovo o Ĭakube Shele: Poĕmy i stikhotvoreniĭa (Moskva: 1962).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹Len (Le Lin) appeared in Russian translation in 1924, and was followed the next year by Svezhaïa ryba (Marée fraîche), Shampanskoe (Le Vin de Champagne), Rel'sy (Le Rail), and Pesn' pesnei (Le Cantique des cantiques).

²Der Tunnel (1913) was published in Russian translation in 1930 in Bernhard Kellermann's Sobranie sochineniï v shesti tomakh (Moskva: 1930).

³Valentin Kataev, Vremïa, vperëd! (Moskva: 1932), rpt. in Sobranie sochineniï (Moskva: 1969), III, 252-253.

⁴Il'ïa Ėrenburg, Den' vtoroi (Moskva: 1932), rpt. in Sobranie sochineniï (Moskva: 1969), III, 355.

⁵Ibid., 153.

⁶Fedor Gladkov, Ėnergiïa, Novyi mir, Nos. 1-10 (1932), rpt. in Sobranie sochineniï (Moskva: 1958), III, 248.

⁷B. Ettinhof, "Art in the Five Year Plan of Cultural Construction," VOKS Bulletin, Nos. 10-12 (1931), p. 4.

⁸For a more detailed account of the poetics of the industrial novel see S. Shput, Tema sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva v proze 30-ykh godov (Moskva: 1963); T. K. Trifonova, Russkaïa sovetskaïa literatura 30-ykh godov (Moskva: 1963); L. F. Ershov, Russkii sovetskii roman: Naïsonal'nye traditsii i novatorstvo (Leningrad: 1967).

⁹Bruno Ėasenskiï, Chelovek meniïaet kozhu, Novyi mir, Nos. 10-12 (1932); Nos. 5-10 (1933).

¹⁰Jasieński's use of American engineers as foreign specialists, working in the Soviet Union, reflected the fact that in the 1920's the Soviets were particularly interested in the United States, with whom they were attempting to establish some technical cooperation.

¹¹Bruno Ėasenskiï, Chelovek meniïaet kozhu, in Izbrannye proizvedeniïa (Moskva: 1957), II, 157. This edition will be used hereafter.

¹²Cf. studies on detective fiction: H. Haycraft (ed.), The Art of the Mystery Story (New York: 1946); A. E. Murch, The Development of the Detective Novel (Port Washington:

1958); J. Symons, Mortal Consequences: A History from the Detective Story to the Crime Novel (New York: 1972).

¹³The choice of Murray as the culprit reflected the obsessive fear the Soviets had of Western spies, especially of British Intelligence agents. Cf. Shpion Kent, the purported diaries of a British master-spy, published anonymously in the Soviet Union in the 1930's.

¹⁴E. Tager, "Chelovek meniaet kozhu," Literaturnyi kritik, No. 4 (1933), p. 129.

¹⁵N. Rykova, "Chelovek meniaet kozhu," Literaturnyi sovremennik, No. 5 (1934), p. 154. The same opinion is shared by contemporary Soviet critics who praise Jasieński for his skilful use of the detective plot; see T. A. Chernysheva, "O romane Bruno Ĭasenskogo 'Chelovek meniaet kozhu,'" Trudy Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Zhdanova, 28 (Irkutsk: 1959), pp. 121-146; G. V. Verves, "Shliakh Bruno Ĭasenskogo do sotsialistichnogo realizmu," Zhovten' i zarubizhni slovianski literatury (Kyiv: 1967), pp. 194-256; B. Pruttsev, "K voprosu o romane Bruno Ĭasenskogo 'Chelovek meniaet kozhu,'" Uchenye zapiski Orlovskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta, 19 (Orlov: 1963), pp. 125-174.

¹⁶Bruno Ĭasenskiĭ, "Rech'," Pervyi Vsesoiuznyi S"ezd Sovetskikh Pisatelei (Moskva: 1934), p. 278.

¹⁷F. Berezovskiĭ, V stepnykh prostorakh (Moskva: 1926), p. 167.

¹⁸See Słownik współczesnych pisarzy polskich (Warszawa: 1964), II, 33.

¹⁹The English translation by G. H. Scott appeared in Moscow in 1935, and was republished the next year in New York. For detailed information about other translations see Słownik współczesnych pisarzy polskich, 33.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

¹Bruno Ĭasenskiĭ, "Muzhestvo," Novyĭ mir, No. 2 (1935), pp. 5-16. This edition will be used hereafter.

²According to Anna Berzin', Jasieński began work on Zagovor ravnodushnykh in 1937, and continued until he was arrested in 1938. Anna Berzin' preserved the manuscript and published it in Novyĭ mir in 1956. Zagovor was later incorporated into Ĭasenskiĭ's Izbrannye proizvedeniĭa v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957), I, 231-429. This edition will be used hereafter.

³Zagovor, p. 231.

⁴The term "concealed narrator" is taken from an article by Caroline Gordon and Allen Tate, "Notes on Fictional Technique," published in The House of Fiction (New York: 1960), pp. 435-458. See also W. C. Booth, Rhetoric of Fiction (Chicago: 1961); N. Friedman, "Point of View in Fiction: The Development of a Critical Concept," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 70 (1955), 1160-1184; Percy Lubbock, The Craft of Fiction (London: 1929).

⁵Sot' was published in 1930, Skutarevskiĭ in 1932, and Doroga na Okean in 1935.

⁶Konstantin Fedin, Pokhishchenie Evropy, Zvezda, Nos. 4-8, 11-12 (1933), Nos. 6-10, 12 (1935).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

¹Bruno ĭasenskiĭ, "Rech'," Pervyi Vsesoiŭznyĭ S"ezd Sovetskikh Pisatelei (Moskva: 1934), p. 277.

²Bruno ĭasenskiĭ, Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957), I, 10.

³Wolfgang Kayser, The Grotesque in Art and Literature. Tr. by U. Weisstein (Bloomington: 1963), p. 184. See also B. Jennings, The Ludicrous Demon: Aspects of the Grotesque in German Post Romantic Prose (Berkeley: 1963); and Iu. V. Mann, O groteske v literature (Moskva: 1966).

⁴E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Der Sandmann," Die Nachtstücke (Berlin: 1918).

⁵Bruno ĭasenskiĭ, Bal manekenov (Moskva: 1931), p. 18. This edition will be used hereafter.

⁶See Ludmila Foster, "The Grotesque: A Method of Analysis," Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich, 9, No. 1 (1966), 77-81, and "A Configuration of the Non-Absolute: The Structure and the Nature of Grotesque," Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich, 9, No. 2 (1966), 38-45.

⁷Anatoliĭ Lunacharskiĭ, "Predislovie," Bal manekenov (Moskva: 1931). Despite Lunacharskiĭ's support Bal manekenov was never staged in the Soviet Union. Before the Second World War it was played only in the A. E. Bucharian avant-garde theatre in Prague, and in Japan. The Polish premiĕre of Bal manekinów took place in 1957 in the Katowice theatre. See A. Stern, Bruno Jasieński, p. 215.

⁸Bruno ĭasenskiĭ, "Nos," Izvestiia, 11-17 February 1936, rpt. in Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh (Moskva: 1957), II, 187-212. The latter edition will be used hereafter.

⁹Nikolaĭ Gogol', "Nos," Sobranie khudozhestvennykh proizvedeniĭ v shesti tomakh (Moskva: 1960), III, 93.

¹⁰See V. Vinogradov, "Naturalisticheskiĭ grotesk: Sŭiuzhet i kompozitsiia povesti Gogolia 'Nos,'" Evolŭtsiia russkogo naturalizma (Leningrad: 1926), p. 41.

¹¹V. Propp, Morfologiia skazki (Leningrad: 1928), pp. 49-54.

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